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THE LATE REV. MARCUS DODS, D.D.

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

VOLUME XXXIV

JULY, 1909

NUMBER I

Editorial

THE STAGNATION OF THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES

Under this striking title the *Outlook* discussed in its issue of May 8 the present training provided by American theological seminaries for students preparing for the ministry. The discussion was a very fair one, bringing out the fact that nearly half the seminaries have done little to modernize their courses of study; but, on the other hand, showing that an increasing number of the seminaries are keenly alive to the modern demands for an efficient ministry, and are supplying opportunities for social studies and for practical training.

THE IDEAL OF THE EFFICIENT MINISTRY

What, then, is an efficient ministry? It used to be said in England that one great value of the ministry of the Established Church was that it insured the presence of at least one gentleman of culture in the community. At the opposite extreme we are loudly told that an efficient ministry is that which can produce results—churches built, souls saved, members gathered, missionary funds collected. A man who can “bring things to pass” is the demand. In his notable contribution to this subject, *The Educational Ideal in the Ministry*, President Faunce has laid out the work of the minister as that of a man who shall interpret to the members of his congregation the meaning of the age in which they live, shall lead them to right conceptions of duty, shall instruct them from the Scriptures, and shall organize his church as an educational force in which childhood, youth, maturity, and age shall reach the highest development of personality in social living. It is evident that the task of the minister is social and educational, and, because it is these, it is in the deepest sense spiritual. The minister is a man who knows God, and knows life, and knows

social duty, is a prophet with a message, and a teacher with a way of progress. For such a ministry it is the task of the theological seminary to prepare men.

THE COLLEGE PREPARATION

But it is idle to throw the whole onus on the theological seminary. It lies first on the college. The leading theological seminaries must demand of the men who come to them that they have first the college training. This is not a mediaeval insistence on scholarship as the prime need of the minister. On the contrary, it is dictated by the most modern interest. The fundamental studies for any minister are biology, upon which all our interpretation of life is founded; anthropology, that we may know something of primitive man in order to understand present man; psychology, the basis of all teaching and of the influence of man upon man; economics and sociology, the very studies for which the critics of the theological seminaries are pleading; history, for no man can understand the present apart from the past; the English language and literature, that one may know the tongue in which he is to speak to his fellow-men; public speaking, that he may be effective in the delivery of his message. To these might be added the elements of the English Bible which every college ought to teach. The modern theological seminary, sensitive to the needs of the ministry, will tell the student to take a college course rather than a seminary course if he cannot take both. The seminary has the right to demand of the college that it shall furnish this preparation.

No mention has been made of Latin or Greek. These subjects ought to be optional. Of high cultural value as they undoubtedly are, and indispensable as they are to theological scholarship, it is a question whether they ought to be demanded of the theological student. There is a growing demand for this reform. Today Latin and Greek are generally required, biology, psychology, and economics are recommended. It is probable that there must be a reversal of the emphasis.

THE TASK OF THE SEMINARY

In those seminaries which are connected with universities the course outlined above, together with other literary, scientific, and philosophical studies, may be taken in three years, the remaining year for the Bachelor's degree being devoted to professional study.

What are then the professional studies? Here we reach the vital point in the criticism of ministerial training. Every seminary puts to the front theology, Old Testament, New Testament, church history, and homiletics. These are the standard studies as they have come down from the mediaeval system. And it is easy to wax witty in discussing them. Theology is a weary study of ancient creeds. Old Testament is the painful acquisition of a Semitic language, which neither the modern Semite or anybody else makes use of, while the study of the history is concerned with the Jebusites and Amalekites who have been a long time dead. The New Testament is written in a dead language, and is chiefly concerned with apocalyptic messianism, which has as much relation to the needs of today as the Ptolemaic system of astronomy to the modern weather bureau. Church history is the study of exploded heresies. And homiletics is the process of building a sermon, which nobody cares to hear, on the basis of first, secondly, and thirdly.

Perhaps the caricature is not altogether unjustified, but a subject of study is not disqualified because it is old. We cannot provide an efficient ministry by confining our attention to the things that have happened since the twentieth century was born. We cannot make the newspaper our textbook. As a matter of fact, modernization is needed in the instruction quite as much as in the curriculum. In the hands of skilled men these old subjects are, all of them, of a most vitally social character. Theology is concerned with the religious experience of the common man as a member of the society in which he must find the spiritual values of life. The Bible studied by the historical method may be the best possible inspiration to social activity. The Old Testament, two-thirds of which is prophetic literature, is a collection of writings of men whose religion was the passion of social righteousness; and the modern expounder of the Old Testament finds himself continually more sensitive to the meaning of the social situation of the present day. The teacher of the New Testament feels the significance of the spirit of Jesus for the social needs of our time, and lays emphasis upon his social teaching, upon himself as the exemplar of the social man, and upon the kingdom of God as a social ideal. Church history is the study of the most significant social institution of the Christian centuries with reference to its social significance at

the present time. And homiletics, if only the college training of the student may relieve the teacher of elementary work in English composition, is concerned with helping the preacher to present his ethical and social message with a religious fervor that shall be effective for the great needs of modern life.

REFORMS IN THE CURRICULUM

In many of the leading theological seminaries the study of Hebrew is no longer required. And wherever it has ceased to be required, it has ceased to be of interest, except to those who are preparing to be theological scholars. The majority of seminaries still hold to the Hebrew requirement for the divinity degree. But the ordinary student obtains a mere smattering of Hebrew, which he soon forgets, and his time would be far more profitably employed in the study of the riches of the Hebrew literature. This reform is inevitable.

It is a very serious question whether Greek should not follow Hebrew. Of course if the student has already studied the subject in college, he is able to read his New Testament in Greek without difficulty and with much advantage. But the seminary cannot presuppose the classical course. There are many men, who may become most efficient ministers, who are not attracted by the severe linguistic discipline of that course. Moreover, as indicated above, there are scientific and social studies which are essential in the college years.

The student of literary tastes will probably always desire to be able to read his New Testament in the original, but the seminary instruction which is designed to prepare ministers may be based on the English translations. The professor should, of course, be a Greek scholar, and the classical students will have the advantage of the larger exegetical opportunity afforded by their linguistic training. But the courses should be directed to the ordinary student, who will attend them not on sufferance, but of right. It is a question whether it is reasonable to require a mature man and college graduate who desires to prepare himself for the Christian ministry to undertake the schoolboy task of learning the Greek grammar.

THE PRACTICAL STUDIES

The conventional studies are not to be abandoned, but to be modernized. In the process some time can be saved, and the prac-

tical studies of religious education and sociology can receive due consideration. These are new subjects in the theological curriculum. They have equal rank with the older studies in only a few progressive seminaries. As the *Outlook* investigation revealed, they are obtaining recognition in the majority of the seminaries. They are to be of increasing significance. The contention that these subjects cannot be relegated to the colleges is entirely justified. The college should give the necessary introductory courses in psychology, economics, and sociology. But the work in genetic psychology, principles of education, psychology of religion, Sunday-school curriculum, expressional activities of youth, the institution of the family, charities and philanthropy, rural communities, industrial communities, the relation of the church to the social problems of today—all this is the duty of the seminary. And the practical minister, who is to conduct a modern church which shall be an educational and social power in its community, must devote not less than a year of study to these practical subjects. Wherever the flexibility of the curriculum has afforded the students a choice in the matter without loss of scholarly standing, their own instincts have led them to give a large portion of time to these studies.

STUDENTS' PRACTICAL WORK

The most needed development in the theological seminary is a provision for the student to be more efficiently trained for the actual work that he will have to do. The custom that has prevailed of allowing the students to go out to preach at the small churches, where they have no direction either in the pulpit or in the pastoral work, is very unfortunate. Every seminary ought to have an affiliation with one or more strong churches engaged in an aggressive social work. Under expert direction, the students should spend at least two years in teaching, organizing and conducting boys' and men's clubs, studying the social conditions of the neighborhood, ministering in various pastoral offices, and preaching with proper opportunity of preparation and of advice. This is professional service for which remuneration may rightly be given, and the vexed question of ministerial aid may thus be settled on a rational basis.

THE SAMARITAN PASSOVER

ALBERT EDWARD BAILEY

Boston, Mass.

Our cavalcade drew slowly up the ancient road toward Nablus. The line that had struck the trail bravely under the morning sun at Bethel was beginning to straggle, and our palanquin was wagging sadly between its foot-sore mules. As the sloping sun filled with gold the vale between Ebal and Gerizim many a rider lusted for the fleshpots that Hamed was about now setting over his pan of charcoals in the kitchen tent; and many a steed was halting between two opinions—whether to lie down where he was or to push on to the grain bags waiting ahead under the olive trees. But a few quick spirits felt a new call as the mountain walls closed on them, a *reveille* that routed the weariness of the long day in the saddle and awoke imagination and desire. It was the call of old Gerizim: "Come up, come up, see the sun set over Carmel and the Mediterranean." Half a dozen of us leaped to the ground, threw the bridle reins to the muleteers, and knew in our veins that we could mount up with wings as eagles.

Our path was the most direct. It led across the orchestra of the vast amphitheater where Joshua assembled the tribes to rehearse the law. Echoes of the blessing and the cursing came to us as we climbed the rocky caves—the blessing of springs of water and olive groves that crown the fat valley; the cursing of stones and sterility on the gray sides of Ebal. But as we climbed and as the horizon line crept up the mountain side, the blessings multiplied—the blessings of a green ocean of hills that swelled beyond the Vale of Muknah, that fell into a purple gulf eastward where Jordan flows, that rose again in the violet ridges of Gilead, and faded into a lavender sky that poised itself in silence over the desert of Arabia. And out of that desert and over the long ridges came trooping back before our imagination the shadowy procession of patriarchs and merchantmen, tribes and empires pouring in from the great deep of the East with their human passions, their thirst for possession, their lust for power, their hunger

for God. Gerizim at sunset is a place to make young men see visions and old men dream dreams.

The dreams were broken by the consciousness that we were not alone on the mountain. We had climbed for solitude, but had reached society. In the saddleback of Gerizim we were suddenly confronted by an acre of white tents and a crowd of people who were buzzing over the stony ridges like bees in swarming-time. Seeing us, a group



THE SAMARITAN ENCAMPMENT ON MT. GERIZIM

of men came running down and poured out a voluble but evidently polite stream of Arabic from which the learned one of our company divined that we were lucky travelers indeed, that these men were Samaritans, that the tents sheltered the whole one hundred and seventy souls that comprise the sect, that the occasion was the Passover, and that we were invited to the celebration of the ancient rite.

It was the high priest's son who was the ambassador to the strangers. With a hospitality that appeared to be truly eastern, but we found afterward looked for reward even in this life, he led us to the tent of his father and bade us welcome. As we entered, the patriarch

himself rose from the blanket where he had been sleeping in anticipation of the great ceremony, greeted us with quiet dignity, laying his hand on his forehead and his breast, and invited us to sit on the couches and to break bread with him. The man was impressive. He was not long past his prime, still erect and tall, with a spare figure and a narrow face that looked even narrower framed in a beard that swept his bosom. The face was a lusterless olive, the beard iron gray.



A SHEPHERD ON THE SUMMIT OF EBAL

The long nose gave solemnity to his countenance and the eyes looked sad as if he were conscious of having seen a great race slowly sinking into the earth and a great tradition slowly vanishing into the sky. As he stood there in his tent, dressed in the long robes of his office and speaking his quiet welcome in an unknown tongue, he seemed the very incarnation of the spirit and the tradition of the holy Hebrew past whose guardian and relic he claimed to be.

His son and heir presumptive to the high priesthood now brought refreshments. Dates he offered and a sour-milk cheese that had been roasted. Apologies for the lack of coffee made us remember that

on this sacred eve fire was prohibited, and the unleavened bread carried us back thirty-two hundred years to the night when in haste they went out from the land of Egypt. The loaf was unique. It was a disk about sixteen inches in diameter and a sixteenth of an inch thick, brought to us folded into a quadrant. For liquid hospitality they offered "arak," a pungent aromatic drink distilled from grapes or other fruit.

During lunch the high priest showed us the one Samaritan treasure, a copy of the Pentateuch, which tradition says the great-grandson of Aaron wrote. They had brought it from their synagogue in Nablus to be in certain sort a shrine for them during the ten days' sojourn on the mountain. Most carefully was it guarded. First they uncovered the wooden box in which it was transported and took out a roll of green silk, heavily embroidered with arabesques of gold. Within the silk was a cylindrical case of brass with three spindles running through and terminating in knobs. The case was completely, though crudely, decorated. On it in *repoussé* were likenesses of the sacred implements of the temple, the altar, sacrificial knives, the long forks and spits, the lavers, the pitchers, the trumpets, the candlestick, the shew bread. In between the pictures were rude designs and mottoes in Hebrew. Opening this case, they showed us next a covering of blue velvet embroidered in silver. Within this was the soul of the shrine, the eternal treasure which moth and rust should not corrupt if human care could avail anything, the sacred Torah of Moses. The parchment was indubitably old, the ink of the exposed portion was faded, and the antiquarian in every one of us bowed down before this literary relic of an ancient schism, itself the offspring of a still more ancient cult. If the pen of Aaron's great-grandson did not trace these characters, at least the writer was contemporaneous with Jesus.

We asked to see the sacrificial knife, hoping that this, too, might be ancient. But it was an ordinary piece of Sheffield steel recently bought in Jaffa.

Outside the sun was burning low. The sacred hour was approaching. The patriarch adjusted the folds of his yellow turban, caught up tenderly his little copy of the law, and left the tent. We followed him to the place of sacrifice. It was a level area perhaps thirty yards square, from which the surface stones had been cleared. A low wall

nearly surrounded it. The crowds had already gathered, not only the male worshipers and helpers of the Samaritans, but the Muslim rabble from Nablus, drawn hither by the unique event—the fools who came to scoff and who did not remain to pray. Undisturbed by the tumult, which was fast proving too much for the lone policeman sent up from the city, the high priest took his stand in the eastern corner of the area, while some thirty of his elders, robed in spotless white,



FROM ÉBAL LOOKING TOWARD GERIZIM

except for the red fezes in their turbans, arranged themselves crescent-wise in front of him, with their faces toward the east, toward the crest of Gerizim where lay in plain view the ruins of their temple. Mounting a block of stone, perhaps a bit from the old sanctuary, the priest began to read the Hebrew of the ritual in the Book of Exodus, while the elders from time to time bent their bodies toward the east, uttering guttural responses, and the rabble that fringed the wall began its noisy demonstration of interest.

Meanwhile in the opposite angle of the inclosure the younger men were making their preparation for the sacrifice. They had dug a

short trench and lined it with stones. Now they brought two great iron kettles and placed them on the stonework. Some threw brush and firewood beneath, some strewed the ground about the caldrons with herbs, the bitter herbs prescribed in Exodus. Others now led in the lambs, seven of them without spot, except for a good deal of removable mother earth, and placed them in precise order about the kettles. From the oblivious worshipers came fitfully the gruff monotony of the chanting, and the swaying mob on the walls kept fitful silence.

Suddenly at the liturgically correct moment, men sprang from the crowd of elders, seized each lamb, threw him quickly upon his side and held him motionless with his feet toward the pit and his throat extended. The crowd grew tense and quiet. Even the policeman forgot his austerity and craned his neck for a view. The thin monotone of the high priest grew sharply defined against the silence. Then the gigantic circle of the sun, that had been throwing purple shadows eastward from every summit, touched the distant Mediterranean and tinged its edge with sard. As if the contact had started the current of action, a swarthy, white-robed man sprang within the circle of lambs and with quick sawing motion cut the throats of the unresisting victims. The voice of the crowd flared up in a hoarse roar of excitement. As the blood of the last lamb gushed forth, the slayer dropped his knife, raised his hands above his head, and clapped. At the joyful signal every man clapped likewise, and with handshaking and unfeigned though solemn joy greeted the new year which at this moment had begun.

The Muslim scoffers shouted and swayed forward from the wall. The spectators and worshipers became a mob, the one part pushing and fighting its way to the center of things where it might see the blood and the lifeless sacrifice, the other part defending its sacrificial lambs from the desecration of the uncircumcized. Slowly the policeman's whip, which seemed to fall more in mirth than anger, somewhat reduced the centripetal tendency, and the joking, jabbering, gesticulating crowd streamed off the summit by many paths to the dusky vales below.

Though the spectacular part of the ceremony was over, the Passover in reality had only begun. Crackling flames now shot up around the caldron and the ritual of prayer became the ritual of work. When

the water boiled the lambs were immersed and flayed. Then the inward parts were burned according to the law, and the lambs, spitted on iron stakes head downward, were roasted in another pit especially prepared. After the odor of burning had ascended as a sweet savor to Heaven and the fires were quenched, the lambs were distributed to the elders of the various households and at the silent hour of midnight under the stars were eaten in haste in memory of the great deliverance.



THE INCLOSURE ABOUT JACOB'S WELL.

This part of the ceremony we did not see, though as strangers within their gates we were invited to remain and partake. Instead, in the gathering darkness we groped our way down the mountain by unfamiliar paths, thinking many things, while the full moon rose up from Moab and crowned imperial Ebal with light. But most of all we thought of One who sat once on the well just at the foot of this high place of sacrifice in full sight of it, and who, in the joy of his sonship, taught men to worship the Father "neither at Jerusalem nor in this mountain."

JEWISH ESCHATOLOGY AND THE TEACHING OF JESUS

PROFESSOR BENJAMIN W. BACON, D.D.
Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

Jewish eschatology has been a stumbling-block to the Aryan mind ever since Paul first preached the gospel to the Greeks. It was not acceptable to Sadducean conservatism even in its own home. Its fundamental tenet was the doctrine of a return of the dead from the underworld to the surface of the earth, a doctrine consonant neither with the world-wide popular conceptions of antiquity concerning the realm of shades, and the phantom, ghostly nature of its pitiable denizens, nor with the philosophic ideas of a natural and inalienable immortality of the soul, as an indissoluble monad, current since Plato's day. First in the dark days of the bitter persecution of Antiochus, the writer of "Daniel," pioneer of the great school of apocalyptists, translates Ezekiel's symbolism of restored *national* life in the "vision of the valley of dry bones" into individual and actual return out of the dust of the sepulchre for "many" of the dead. Martyred heroes of the Maccabean revolt will come out from their graves shining "as the brightness of the firmament." In company with "the wise" and those "that turn many to righteousness" they will enjoy "everlasting life" in the "kingdom that shall not pass away" which is to be given to Israel in the person of "the Son of Man," or of "Michael the great prince." "Many" renegades and betrayers of the law will also return "to everlasting shame and contempt." Such is the Jewish doctrine of "other-worldliness" at its first appearance. How far the great apocalyptist of Daniel was affected by Babylonian and Persian conceptions in his reaction against Hellenism is a question for the students of comparative religion. At all events with Daniel Judaism undergoes a great transformation. The Pharisees, repudiating the worldly ideals of the Sadducean hierocracy, those mere sycophants of the degenerate dynasty of the Hasmonaeans, carry the sympathies of Israel as a whole with them in transferring

all the messianic hopes to a transcendental, miraculous "world to come," to be achieved only by divine intervention. Henceforth Zealot nationalism and Sadducean conservatism become secondary; the main line of development of Israel's religious ideal is Pharisean and transcendental: the duty of every Israelite is obedience to the written law, his destiny is "a share in the world to come," given by the miraculous power of God as a reward for this obedience.

No wonder this fundamentally transcendental, non-natural, often wildly fantastic, belief awakened antipathy when carried over to the Greek world. Paul himself writes to the Corinthian church remonstrating on the one side with Platonists who look for nothing better than "to be unclothed" of "this mortality," and who "say that there is no (bodily) resurrection from the dead," on the other with crudely Jewish ideas which conceive the same body that was "sown" returning, flesh and blood inheriting the kingdom of God. But Paul's letters show only the beginning of a conflict that lasts over a full century, occupying a leading place in the thought of the Johannine writer, of II Peter, of Ignatius and Polycarp, of Papias and Justin Martyr, of Nepos and Dionysius. At first the church was not even content with the enlightened and moderate resurrectionism of Paul. It refused to be satisfied with the idea that in the coming kingdom we are to be "clothed upon with a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens," a "body of glory" in the likeness of the glory body of the risen Christ, into which the "body of our humiliation" is "metamorphosed," whether by a process of gradual transformation "from glory to glory," while we "reflect as mirrors the glory of the Lord," or "in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump," when "we which are alive and remain" are "changed," to meet the Lord as he comes from heaven¹ to reign in the new Jerusalem. No; while Palestinian influence remained still dominant in the church the current orthodoxy was formulated: "I believe in the resurrection of the *flesh*" (τῆς σαρκός). Ignatius maintained on the authority of a non-canonical form of the story, Luke 24:36-43, that Jesus "was in the flesh even after the resurrection."² Polycarp denounced as Antichrist those who "deny that there is either (bodily) resurrection

¹ I Thess. 4:15-17; Phil. 3:20, 21.

² See the whole passage, Ign. *Ad Smyrn.* iii.

or judgment." Papias used and defended the "trustworthiness" of the Revelation of John and appealed to the authority of "the Elders" in support of the crudest Jewish representations of the fertility of the earth in the messianic age, and the abodes of the saints in the world to come. Justin appealed to the same Johannine writing, and denounced as pseudo-Christians those who instead of its predicted return from the underworld to dwell a thousand years in Jerusalem, held only that "when we die our souls are taken to heaven."³ Only in Rome and Alexandria in the latter part of the second century was the tide turned against Montanists and Chiliasts, as the fanatical apocalyptists of Asia were now called, through the stronger, saner reasoning of Gaius at Rome and Dionysius at Alexandria. Gaius even went so far as to reject the entire Johannine canon of Proclus, his Phrygian opponent, Gospel, Epistles and Revelation of John. Dionysius more cautiously rejected only Revelation; but the reaction which ensued against chiliasm almost cost this writing its position in the canon. It was saved to use in only a portion of the churches, and then only by dint of a strained allegorical interpretation.

Jewish eschatology, resting on the phantasmagoria of Daniel and the apocalypses, was thus compelled in about 200 A. D. to purchase at the cost of allegorization even a subordinate place in the church alongside the triumphant Greek doctrine once anathematized, "that when we die our souls are taken to heaven." In modern times even its secondary position is disputed. Our evolutionary conceptions clash with the catastrophic idea of a transcendental kingdom of God miraculously substituted for a wicked world swept by angelic power into the lake of fire and brimstone. The once dominant apocalyptic idea of the apostolic age, with its anticipations of an impending "end of the world," and appearance on the clouds of the world-judge, is to the modern mind a delusion born of Jewish religious reaction against tyranny and persecution. But more significant than all else of change, we find ourselves confronted with an attack upon the apocalyptic idea in its last stronghold, the personal authority of Jesus.

None, of course, are so foolish as to deny that Jesus shared in the current doctrine of the Day of Judgment, nor that he urged his hearers

³ *Dial.* lxxx.

to repentance in view of many indications that the long-suffering of God was not to be expected to endure beyond a brief limit. This had been the essence of the message of John the Baptist, whom Jesus revered as "greater than a prophet," yes, as fulfilling in his person and work the promise of the coming of Elijah in the last days, to effect a great repentance in Israel, that the Day of Jehovah might prove a blessing to them and not a curse. Jesus saw confirmation of this promise in the person and work of John. He saw confirmation of the threat of coming judgment in "the signs of the times," partly in evidences of the impending clash with Rome which Zealot fanaticism was doing its best to bring about;⁴ partly in the bigoted opposition of scribes and Pharisees to God's message; partly in the turning of the publicans and sinners to John and to himself.⁵ Hence he reiterated the appeal of the "voice crying in the wilderness" concerning the axe laid at the root of the tree. He, too, looked for the messenger of judgment whose baptism of fire would burn up the chaff, while he gathered the wheat into his garner. Jesus not only seconded the Baptist's threat, he thought the conditions of the time such as to make the warning appropriate, "Agree with thine Adversary quickly, whilst thou art in the way with him." He too thought of Israel as a tree which had but little time wherein to bring forth the expected fruit, or else be hewn down.⁶ He felt, at least after it became apparent that Israel as a whole would reject him, that the blood of all the prophets would be required at the hand of that same evil generation which in the message of John had had a greater matter than Jonah's cry, "Yet forty days and Nineveh shall be destroyed," and in his own a greater matter than the "wisdom" of Solomon. Even if we had not a host of sayings recording Jesus' warnings of impending doom upon Israel, we might be sure from his deep veneration for John the Baptist that he accepted and sympathized with the essence of the Baptist's message, Repent for the Judge is at hand.

There is also a figure which, however we may question Jesus' application of it to his own person, plays too large a part in the teachings attributed to him to be without some basis in his actual language,

⁴ Luke 12:54—13:9.

⁵ Matt. 11:20—24; 12:38—45; 21:22—43 and parallels.

⁶ Luke 12:54—13:9; cf. 3:9.

the Danielic figure of the "Son of Man." It has been questioned on philological grounds whether this title could have been employed in the Palestinian Aramaic of Jesus' time. If it could have meaning at all, it was by virtue of connotations derived from Dan. 7:9-14, in which the Son of Man⁷ occupies the central field in the scene of judgment. For John the Baptist the executioner of the divine judgment had been the Angel of the Covenant of Mal. 3:1-6; 4:1. So shortly after as the time when the teachings of Jesus received their first literary embodiment, the figure from Daniel has taken the place of that from Malachi. And our evangelists attribute the change to Jesus himself. We can hardly doubt that at least Jesus spoke of "the Day of the Son of Man" and that he looked forward to it as the day when the ceaseless prayer of God's elect, "Avenge me of mine adversary," would be answered. Repeatedly utterances of his are appealed to which indicate his conviction that this judgment of God would not be delayed beyond "this generation." Indeed, if the parties to the controversy, God's messengers on the one side, obdurate Israel on the other, were to be affected by it, to justify one or the other before the world, the judgment must needs come within that generation. Whether Jesus expected himself personally to return as this Son of Man is another question.

So much, then, for what Jesus received from the prophets that were before him, up to and including John. He looked for the Day of the Son of Man. He not only received, but indorsed and enhanced the doctrine. But even this does not constitute it his *message*. That must be distinctive of himself. It will not consist of that which he merely takes over from others, even if cordially indorsed. So far as the received doctrine is concerned we must find Jesus' distinctive message in his own characteristic application or modification of it. And even this modification must be in line with the great new teachings which originate with him, and which form the core and kernel of his thought. Somehow or other his followers, after having suffered a grievous disappointment of their hopes, were not all "stumbled in him." They were able to find a deeper sense in Jesus' teaching than

⁷ In the original the "throne of judgment" is filled by "one like unto a son of man," i. e., a being in human form, whether "Michael your prince," or an ideal figure in contrast with the beasts. But already, in *Enoch* (90 B.C.) the figure is taken as applying to a definite personality "*the Son of Man*."

hitherto, a sense transcending Jewish apocalypse. It is of course supposable that this was mere self-deception. The fourth evangelist, writing at a date when the expectation of a manifestation "to the world" was beginning to give place to a more mystical and Pauline expectation of "departing" and "being with Christ," a "being ever with the Lord," may have had nothing more than the Pauline mysticism to go upon in rewriting the doctrine of the second coming. But it may also be true that Jesus' own teaching was not dominated by the doctrines of Jewish apocalypse, though accepting them for their moral content, but rather dominated them. It may be possible even to determine which of these alternatives the true historical critic should follow, by a scrutiny of that which is in reality distinctive in his teaching.

If, indeed, we should take the ground occupied by many, that the title Son of Man was "Jesus' favorite self-designation" it would be difficult to escape the inference that the Danielic, the typical apocalyptic, conception of the kingdom was his dominant idea. Perhaps we should even be obliged logically with O. Holtzmann to answer his question, "Was Jesus an Ecstatic?" in the affirmative. But we have seen that even the linguistic possibility of Jesus' employment of the title is in doubt, while it is surely a very notable fact that the title is absolutely unknown to the New Testament outside the sphere of our four evangelists, who are not among its earliest writers and may all in this matter have been influenced by a single document. And there is a more fundamental objection than the linguistic. It lies in the central thought of Jesus regarding the nature of the kingdom and his own relation to it. The predominant, distinctive, and characteristic note of Jesus teaching is not the apocalyptic, but the ethico-religious. To put the matter in another light, the great antithesis for him is not the antithesis put by scribe and Pharisee, the now and the hereafter, obedience *versus* reward; although Jesus too often borrows this phraseology. The great antithesis for Jesus is qualitative rather than temporal. It is that between the outward and inward, the seeming *versus* the real, the material *versus* the spiritual. Hence his standard of human duty is not the written precept, but likeness in spirit to the All-merciful Father. Hence his yoke is at once easier than that of the scribes, and yet exacts a righteousness far exceeding theirs. Hence

also the destiny which is to follow "doing the will of the Father" in this sense is not limited to the future. It is assumed indeed to involve all the "reward" which the legalist hopes for in his apocalyptic resurrection kingdom—but this reward for Jesus is only "added." The real goal is "ye shall be sons and daughters of the Highest." It is eternal life. It consists not in getting but in being. The essence of the kingdom is the filial relation with God. And this distinction contains potentially, as Paul and the fourth evangelist perceive, a mystical doctrine of participation in the divine nature, "apprehension of the divine life," eternal life here and now, guaranteed for its future by a present relation to the "God of the living."

It is consonant with this cardinal distinction between the teaching of Jesus and that of the scribes and Pharisees, its only serious competitor, that his real title for himself, when forced to assume the attitude of leader, champion and representative of the "little ones," the despised "people of the land," is not "the Christ"—a title which if he ever tolerated it at all was tolerated only in a greatly accommodated sense—not "the Son of Man"—a title redolent of thoughts of future vengeance and reward—but, simply "the Son." This title, however, was not used in a theological, still less in an exclusive, but in a representative, sense. By it Jesus referred to himself as the plain man of the people who has come into that filial relation with "the Father" which is the ideal of the kingdom. The Fourth Gospel, after a generation of dallying by the church with the apocalyptic ideals of Judaism, reverts to the Pauline mysticism, and so with its title "the Son," and its doctrine of "eternal life," in a sense comes nearer, in spite of its theologizing, to Jesus' own teaching than the Synoptics with their Danielic view-point.⁸

The assertions just made as to the essential and distinctive features in the message of Jesus might seem to rest upon a priori preferences, since they undoubtedly agree far better with the modern religious consciousness than the oriental apocalyptic ideals of contemporary Pharisaism. But it is possible to show, if the distinction above made between the merely received and the strictly original in Jesus' mes-

⁸ On this subject of Jesus' messianic self-consciousness see my article, "Jesus the Son of God" in the *Harvard Theological Review* (July, 1909), interpreting the so-called "Johannine passage," Matt. 11:25-27 = Luke 10:21, 22.

sage be observed, that in this contention we are doing no more than simple historical justice to his pure and transcendent religious genius, his doctrine of inwardness.

In the matter of careful and minute analysis and comparison of the records we have great occasion for gratitude to Dr. Sharman, of The University of Chicago. His recent book on *The Teaching of Jesus about the Future*⁹ goes a long way toward showing first of all how Jesus' teaching, even while indorsing that of the Baptist in its religious content, expressly and repeatedly corrects and improves upon it by insisting upon the progressive, invisible, working of God through natural processes, as that which immediately concerns the hearer. The superlative commendation Jesus gives to John is accompanied by the qualification, "Howbeit, he that is least in the kingdom of God is greater than he." John's cry of warning against the wrath to come is declared to be a greater matter than that of Jonah,¹⁰ for neglect of which "this generation" will be condemned in the judgment by the Ninevites. But in the same breath Jesus contrasts his own message of glad tidings with the lugubrious notes of John, as a "wisdom" of God, a greater matter than Solomon's. Thus while the Baptist's preaching of judgment is not set aside, but rather indorsed, it is distinctly *subordinated*. What primarily concerns the hearer is the "wisdom" of God, understood as in the Wisdom literature throughout, of the agency of the redeeming love of the Father in heaven. This belongs to the now and here. The judgment is for the unknown future.

When we take up the parables of the kingdom, it is precisely the same note which is struck over and over again. The parables of the Tares and of the Net full of Fishes are pendants. Both reassert indeed the doctrine of retribution, and assume that *when the time is fully ripe*, the harvest of God will be reaped, the separation of good and

⁹ The University of Chicago Press, April, 1909.

¹⁰ Not Jesus' message. In the reply to the demand for a sign, Matt. 12:38-42 = Luke 11:29-32, Jesus administers a *double* rebuke. That generation would have *neither* John's preaching nor his, *neither* wailing nor piping (cf. Matt. 11:16-19 = Luke 7:31-35; and Matt. 21:25-32 = Luke 7:30). The reference, accordingly, in the "sign of Jonah" is neither to the resurrection (Matt. 12:40) nor to the appearance of the Son of Man (Luke 11:30). It is, as clearly intimated in Matt. 21:25, 32, "the baptism of John." See Bacon, *Sermon on the Mount*, 1902, pp. 232 ff.

evil effected. But their *main teaching* is that God is not an impatient husbandman who cannot be satisfied with the slow processes of natural evolution. He does not intervene prematurely.¹¹ Both parables are directed *against* the tendencies of the apocalyptic eschatology. The parables of the Leaven, the Mustard-seed, the Sower, all repeat the same lesson in various forms. *Ultimately* there will be a "sending-forth of the sickle." *For the present* men must be satisfied with the quiet, unostentatious, yet sure working of God in natural processes. Surely this implies a profoundly qualified acceptance of Jewish eschatology.

The same standpoint is taken again and again in answer to the questions, When? or Where? Special warning is given against the prognosticators who think that the kingdom of God cometh with observation, and who seduce with their Lo, here, Lo, there. *Because the nature of the kingdom is inward* it is impossible to predict the time.¹² Again the apocalyptic imagery of the lightning, spreading its glow over the whole heaven at once, is indeed introduced and indorsed; but the application is aimed against the whole theory of the apocalyptists.¹³ Because "the kingdom (sovereignty) of God is within (or among) you" it can only come when the harvest of hearts redeemed is ripe. For this reason none but the Searcher of hearts can know the day. The desire to know it is answered by the direction to do your part to make the harvest ready; leave the question of when to "the Lord of the harvest."¹⁴

On the other hand this principle of "ripeness," usually employed by Jesus to counteract the apocalyptic impatience of current eschatology, can also be inverted. In a certain number of instances, nearly all recorded in Luke, Jesus himself so employs it. The parable of the Fig Tree appears in three different forms in Luke 13:6-9; Mark 11:12-14, 20 f., and 13:28-32. In the first two it has specific application to Israel, which has tried the patience of God to the utmost and can expect no more delay of judgment. Here we touch the delicate question whether Jesus really differentiated between the impending judgment of Israel, whereof he saw signs so manifest that he mar-

¹¹ With Mark 4:26-29 (Matt. 13:24-30 introduces a feature peculiar to this evangelist and not germane to the parable), cf. Jas. 5:7-11.

¹² Luke 17:20, 21.

¹³ Luke 17:22-37.

¹⁴ Acts 1:6-8.

veled how others could be blind to them,¹⁵ and the judgment of humanity. Certainly the tradition embodied by our Synoptic evangelists was not clear upon this point; nor could we expect it to be. We can only be certain that Jesus did apply his doctrine of "harvest" in both cases. The third application of the parable of the Fig Tree is general: the swelling of its fruit buds betokens the glad season of harvest. The world's day of redemption proclaims its approach in like manner and only so.¹⁶

Great effort has been made by those who have recorded the evangelic tradition to make it appear that Jesus gave specific prognostication of the events which culminated in the overthrow of the temple and downfall of Jewish nationality. A critical study of Sharman's analysis will show how large a discount we must make on this score from the present form of the tradition. The present writer holds that Sharman has stopped decidedly short of the truth because of an exaggerated conception of the primitiveness of Mark. The so-called "eschatological discourse" of Mark, chap. 13, transferred to our first and third gospels as Matt., chap. 24, and Luke, chap. 21, is simply an agglutination of sayings of Jesus on the basis of Danielic and Pauline apocalypse, with no real claim to represent a consecutive address of Jesus forecasting the future.¹⁷ The representation of the evangelist to that effect (vs. 23) contradicts the very essence of Jesus' teaching *against* the prognosticators. The Lukan source embodies, indeed, some characteristic sayings on the fate of the bloody city, murderess of the prophets, the "dry tree," the dead "carcass;" and these indicate that Jesus was not blind to the law of nature which prescribes elimination from the vital organism of the member which has become dead. But aside from his conviction that the dead carcass¹⁸ of the Jewish hierocracy could not continue to affront God and man beyond the limits of his own generation, we have no reason to suppose that Jesus made specific forecasts of the future. The one thing of which critical analysis of the whole record makes us sure is that Jesus observed that same wise restraint in this field which is

¹⁵ Luke 12:49—13:9.

¹⁶ Mark 13:28, 29.

¹⁷ For a discussion of "The Apocalyptic Chapter in the Synoptic Gospels" see Bacon, *Journ. of Bibl. Lit.*, 1909, Pt. I.

¹⁸ Luke 17:37; cf. 9:60; 11:50, 51; 23:27—31.

characteristic of him elsewhere, refusing to be made a prognosticator, insisting on limitation of his teaching to the broad principles of the divine retributive justice, and the need for immediate repentance. What he offers new is not another apocalypse more lurid than the last, with his own portrait in the midst as the Danielic Son of Man; it is a kingdom within, a filial relation of the least and last to the heavenly Father, and an eternal life which rests upon that sonship. He comes to bring in the "new covenant" of Jeremiah, the law written on men's hearts, the forgiveness of sin and iniquity, and the opportunity for all to know the Lord, from the least of them unto the greatest.¹⁹ In this knowledge of the Father he is, indeed, "the" Son; but only as the first born of many brethren. That is Jesus' new message. It was not dominated by, it rather took up into itself and reinterpreted, the message of John, the preacher of judgment. And in the new application of the old message of retribution the distinctive note of Jesus is always *against* the prognosticators, *against* the fanatical heralds of a *deus ex machina*, with their signs and portents, their Lo, here, Lo, there. He, too, looked, indeed, for the Day of the Son of Man, as it was written in Daniel the prophet. But his interpretation of apocalypse was marked by that same penetration to the spiritual essence which characterizes his interpretation of the law and the prophets. He interpreted the God of Scripture by the living God whom he saw in action round about. From Scripture he drew, in common with all his contemporaries, the doctrine of a Son of Man, coming "on the clouds," sitting on the "thrones of judgment." That was for the future. To the future he left the interpretation. From his own experience of life he drew the doctrine of the Son of God, a kingdom "within," whose essence is the filial relation of the least and last to God, the brotherly relation of each to all, an eternal life found in losing the self-centered life; and to the achievement of this kingdom he subjected every will, every ideal, because he believed in it as the sure, progressive, all-conquering will of God. This was his own message for the now and here.

¹⁹ Cf. Jer. 31:31-34.

THE ETHICAL PRINCIPLES OF JESUS

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The term "religion" embraces two distinct, yet closely related, concepts. One pertains to the mind, has to do with opinions, takes shape in conviction and faith, and, when wrought out into a clearly articulated system of belief, fortified by adequate rational considerations, is termed theology. The other pertains to concrete, external acts, involves modes of action, rules of procedure, or principles of conduct.

Jesus did not teach theology in the domain of faith, nor ethics as a code of conduct in the domain of practice. It may seem superfluous to state that he was pre-eminently religious and by both practice and precept imparted religious principles and incentives, but as a teacher we must plainly recognize, and frankly confess, that he taught neither theology nor ethics, though giving data for both.

The data of the ethics of Jesus may be found in (1) what he did—his example taken as precedent; (2) what he sententiously said as applied to conduct—his "wisdom" utterances as precepts and exhortations; and (3) what appear as the principles of his life, as evinced in his deeds, in his sententious sayings, and in his more formal and protracted teachings, whether parables or discourses. To discover the principles we must take a wider view than a single act, and must listen to more than one isolated oriental utterance, for neither an act nor a saying can be rightly understood by itself; both must be viewed in relation to circumstances and as a part of the whole life.

The principles of Jesus are involved in his acts, but may not at any moment be clearly and fully expressed in any one, single act. The concrete often expresses more than one mode of action, or one harmonious principle. It must be related with other similar and dissimilar acts within the same plane before it can be determined whether the single act represents the generic principle or not. In other words no single act of Jesus can be taken as a type of what he

wishes done. What he then did may be the thing and the only thing which was right to do at the given time, under the then existing circumstances, but not the thing which should be done at another time under other circumstances. His deeds may be taken as precedents, only when we are sure that the circumstances are identical in which we would repeat what he did. To walk "in his steps" is folly, when we understand it to mean simply to place our feet exactly where he has placed his. The Holy Land retains no communicable grace because he walked on it. To go to Palestine, to traverse the hills and vales which he hallowed with his presence, would yield no virtue to us. Chicago, San Francisco, New York, and Boston require our feet; we must follow him in America, not in Syria. In our circumstances we are obliged to do many things which he never did, for which we can discover, in looking at the external act, no precedent. He never stood before a "mule," or loom, in a cotton or woolen mill; he never poured hot iron into molds at the glaring mouth of a foundry furnace; he never "stoked" fires in the depths of an ocean liner; he never held the control-handle on the front platform of an electric car, nor collected fares on a suburban line in rush hours; he never executed orders on 'Change, nor dealt in stocks and bonds, wheat, hides, or lumber. He never administered the affairs of a Harvard University, nor served on a local school board. Writing articles for the *Biblical World* was unknown to him or setting forth ethical rules in any written, systematized form.

Two things we must conclude respecting the ethics of Jesus, as embodied in his acts: (1) That his example entirely fails at innumerable points, because we must do innumerable deeds which he never did; (2) That his example fails at many other points, not as numerous, but almost innumerable, because he did many things which we cannot, or should not, do today. We cannot walk on the water, multiply loaves and fishes, heal the sick and crippled, and raise the dead to life. We would not for a moment think of imitating him in calling disciples about us, inviting our fellow-men to come unto us for soul-rest and for forgiveness of sins.

Yet the example of Jesus, seen as a concrete expression of the abstract, may reveal to us his ethical principles. While we cannot heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, and give sight to the blind, as he

wrought cures, we can relieve distress, we can set remedial agencies in operation, we can feel pity and compassion, and can ourselves minister, even as he himself ministered, in complete forgetfulness of ourselves and in loving sympathy with the unfortunate, however wretched and loathsome. We may not sit at the same banqueting boards at which he reclined, yet we may, without lowering our ideals or tarnishing our virtues, associate with the corrupt officials, the impure profligates, and the wretched and ruined characters of our day, as did he in his day, and, by the bonds of human fellowship and hearty consecration to holy living, help lift them to our plane of life. We may not be called upon to drink the same cup that he drank, nor to be baptized with the same baptism with which he was baptized, but we must practice self-denial; on every hand is the requirement to forget self and live, or die, for others. Parents both live and die for their children, sacrificing self oftentimes as completely by living as by dying. Patriots suffer vicariously for their country. Men count not life itself dear, sometimes in most humble circumstances, often unnoticed and unknown, yet in the spirit of Christ, after the example of Christ, meeting each his trial in his Garden of Gethsemane and coming each to his Calvary, thereby adjusting a modern life to the ethical model of Jesus. The ethical conformity is frequently the closest when the outward expression varies most widely from the acts of Jesus.

The principles of Jesus are involved but not always fully stated in his brief, sententious sayings. The use of the proverb, or the maxim, in the time of Jesus was far more common than with us. One distinct kind of Hebrew literature, of which the Book of "Proverbs" is a notable example, consisted almost wholly of such compact epigrammatic utterances, and is now known as "Wisdom Literature." Jesus made use of current wisdom sayings and also coined his own. When applicable to conduct, these often express ethical rules, or principles.

Another name for these direct utterances respecting conduct, early employed in the history of Christianity and long misunderstood, is "precepts." Monasticism at its beginning divided the teachings of Jesus into two classes, a lower class, known as "precepts," addressed to the mass of Christian disciples, who constitute the great

lay element of the church, and a higher class, designated as the "counsels," which were deemed applicable to the clergy alone, who, out of secular relations, removed from worldly contaminations, sought a special degree of holiness and sanctity in a life which was deemed, by reason of its separation from the world, truly and exclusively spiritual.

Such a division of disciples into two distinct classes does not seem warranted by the words of Jesus, although he refers in many varying terms to two classes of men, but these are disciples and non-disciples, not two grades of disciples. Those who are not with him are against him; there are men who accept him and men who reject him; there are "sheep" and there are "goats." His ethical precepts and principles are for all men; and distinctions arise only as men heed these teachings, or ignore and disobey them.

The ethical precepts of Jesus, though applicable to all men, yet, as in the case of his acts, have relations and restrictions arising from circumstances. Of wider application than his acts, the precepts of Jesus have currency, however, only in circumstances closely similar to those under which they were originally spoken, herein unlike principles which are everywhere and at all times in force. "He that humbleth himself shall be exalted" and all expressions inculcating meekness and non-resistance must be harmonized with that other large class of utterances which call for "strife," "agonizing" to enter into the narrow gate, "confessing" him before men, finding "foes" within one's own household, and "holding on" unto the end. Though his advent was attended by the acclaim of "peace on earth" and in departing he is reported in the Fourth Gospel as saying, "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you," yet he said, "I came not to bring peace, but a sword." He repeatedly bade men to "deny themselves;" he also spoke of the prodigal son as at length returning to the father's house when "he came to himself," indicating that while there is a self to be denied, there is also a self which should be heeded and obeyed.

Both the acts and the precepts of Jesus fail of significance for us unless we discern the principles of which they are more or less complete expressions. Indeed it is because the disciples of Christ, often unconsciously, have discovered the spirit of Jesus, more than the

external forms and phrases of his life, that the Christian religion has become a world-religion. Many men who undertook to do precisely that which Jesus did and to practice only the things which he enjoined, have made a miserable failure of their discipleship. The attempt to turn the dial of the ages back to the first century mars and nullifies progress. The Christian centuries have been rendered unchristian by inquisitions and bitterness, warfare, bigotry, and bloodshed, because, without discerning the universal and eternal principles in which Jesus wrought and taught, men saw only what he did and heard only what he said, fragmentarily, a part at a time, without due respect unto the circumstances and conditions and the modifications which were enjoined by other circumstances and conditions in the very acts and words of the Master himself. Did we do precisely what Jesus did, then would we need to become Jews, as Jesus was, and observe the Mosaic ritual, as he did. Verily there is a "letter" which killeth and a "spirit" which maketh alive!

Jesus did not lay down rules. He refused to select out of more than seven hundred rabbinical prescriptions that one which was greatest and best; he would not be a divider of rights and equities amongst men. In no sense was he a casuist. One might well say that he was not a teacher of ethics, for he did not construct an ethical system, or, if he did, the system has not been preserved for us. He uttered and exemplified ethical principles in abundance; but to give ethical principles out of which an ethical system can be constructed is very different from furnishing the system itself. Strictly speaking there is then no ethics of Jesus.

The more prominent principles of ethical conduct, to be deduced from both the example and the teaching of Jesus, include the following:

1. The principle of *consecutiveness* is prominent. He himself came not to destroy, but to fulfil, the religious principles which had been unfolding in the past. He was not iconoclastic; his method was constructive. He inculcated natural, orderly progress—"first the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear." This is the evolutionary process. This method requires the exercise of patience toward immaturity and imperfection; it forbids censoriousness in judging: it expresses itself in gentleness and tenderness toward the

weak, the tempted, and the erring. Jesus insisted upon perfection as the goal, but he welcomed on the way those who sinned against both the ideal and the process.

2. Jesus regarded the character of a life as consisting not in the sum-total of acts but in the *motives* behind those acts. To him the heart was the source of life: hands and feet might even be dispensed with; anger contained the unexpressed elements of murder; lust, contemplated, lacked nothing but the occasion. Yet motives alone, even right motives, were not sufficient to meet his approval; motives must reach expression through their appropriate acts; he did not teach the passive life. Light and salt, unemployed, lost distinctiveness and merit; talents, unused, vanished; men would eventually be judged, not by reason of their well-wishing merely, but because their well-wishing had been transmuted by the alchemy of endeavor into life.

3. It was in this sense that Jesus asked for *reality*. The simplicity of childhood pleased him. He most severely condemned pretense and hypocrisy; he insisted upon sincerity. Fasting, seen of men, had no value; praying on the street corners was an offense. He made it plain that the inner recesses of the heart must at length be open to the light and hidden secrets be proclaimed abroad.

4. Jesus laid stress on the *Invisible*. Men are not alone; they need not worry; they are subjects of an Infinite Care; they may be trustful, hopeful; before them are treasures which cannot be taken away; they must serve him only, who is invisible.

5. Jesus reproved selfishness and inculcated *altruism*, the law of love. He taught that the man who sought his own welfare, even though gaining the whole world, would lose all advantage and profit; that selfishness is self-destructive. Riches, honors, powers, and comforts must all be tested by the law of service to others. Ministry is the ethical goal set forth by Jesus, and whatever ministers to the highest welfare of man he justified, while anything which impairs the highest welfare of man he condemned. The home, the neighborhood, the civil government, strangers and foreigners, religious institutions and religious services must be interpreted and must be protected with a view to increasing and preserving their usefulness to man. Man is the greatest object of the Divine Care and must be the

chief object of human solicitude. Outgoing love, whatever the concrete form of its expression, is ethically Christian.

When an investigator has examined with care the teaching of Jesus, searching for the fundamental, underlying principles, however he then may phrase them, whether as few or many, he will at any rate be forced to acknowledge that Jesus did not teach men primarily the rules of life; he was not a reformer; it is almost out of place to speak of "the social problem" in connection with Jesus, or to refer to "socialism" as in any way sanctioned by him. He dealt so little with conduct and social organizations and ethical acts, whether of the individual or of society, that these modern terms and modern conceptions seem inappropriate. He was a prophet, speaking for God; he gave men religion, not ethics. His religion was not theological, but germinant, and his ethics was but germinant in the great principles of his religion. Out of the germs may grow the systems of theology and ethics, and in the growth, developing from universal principles, will be found the perennial vitality and power of the Christian system for faith and conduct.

THE JEWISH APOCALYPSES

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Among the longer New Testament books, the Revelation of John is probably for most of us of least importance. We know the first three chapters, we admire the description of the heavenly Jerusalem at the end, we love a few passages from the body of the book, but for the rest we hardly care. As a rule it is neither expounded in the pulpit nor explained in the Sunday schools.

Nor is this the result of a modern development. Even the reformers did not attach great value to this book. Luther said of it: "Let everybody think of it what his spirit tells him; my spirit cannot accommodate itself to it." Zwingli referred to it as not a biblical book, and Calvin who gave an excellent exposition of the whole New Testament, omitted the second and third epistle and the Revelation of John. In the oldest editions of Luther's translation of the Bible the Revelation as well as the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the epistles of James and Jude, are treated as an appendix to the New Testament, neither the books themselves nor their pages being counted. Even some of his contemporary Roman Catholic theologians, as Erasmus and Cajetan, the papal legate at Augsburg, considered Revelation as an apocryphal book. Therein they only followed Jerome, who in the East had heard that a great many Greek theologians rejected it. Already in the second century it was objected to, though only by a small party.

On the other hand there were at all times some people who studied the book most diligently and who held it in the highest esteem. They found in it a prediction of their own time, and though of course every generation was corrected by the following one, everyone believed himself able to correct the preceding ones. From Tolstoi's famous novel, *War and Peace*, it is well known that at the beginning of the last century in Russia the Beast of Revelation was understood to be Napoleon, as was also Germany by the French at the time of the Franco-German war, and England by the Boers during the South

African war. Even now in America as well as in Europe many people explain the Revelation in this way and announce on the basis of it the end of the world in the near future.

What then is the real meaning of this strange book which has been and still is studied so diligently and yet is interpreted so erroneously?

To answer this question we must compare the Revelation of John with the Jewish apocalypses that came into existence in the centuries immediately before and after Christ. It is only in this way that we can find out not only what the book means but also how a great many passages in the other New Testament writings are to be explained. The peculiarities of this whole literature will best be discovered if we study one after another the different books which comprise it. We have not the time, however, to consider all the writings of this period that contain apocalyptic material (the Sibylline Oracles, the Book of Jubilees, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Psalms of Solomon), but must confine ourselves to the books which must be characterized as apocalypses, though even they contain some statements which at first sight do not seem to lend themselves to such an interpretation.

The oldest of these writings is the Book of Daniel, written between 168 and 165 B. C. It divides itself into two parts, each of which embraces six chapters. The first six chapters aim to confirm belief in God's protection of his people, but the second part of the book is of chief interest for us. It contains prophecies of the future in the form of visions. The prophets sometimes had visions, but with the apocalyptists this is the usual form of foreseeing the future. Perhaps sometimes the writer created the form, but the material of these visions was in part at least derived from tradition.

This is most clearly to be seen in the very first vision in the second part of the Book of Daniel in chap. 7. Here Daniel is reported to have seen four beasts coming up from the sea and having all together seven heads and ten horns. The sea and some other particulars are not interpreted later on; so they must have been derived from tradition. But originally the whole expectation must have had a simpler form. The description of the four beasts and of the beasts with seven heads and ten horns in the Revelation of John, as we shall see, were originally identical; nay, this expectation of one beast must

have been older than that of four, as we meet it in the Book of Daniel. For why should just the third beast have had four heads and just the fourth ten horns? This can be explained only if the original of these four beasts was one beast with seven heads and ten horns, as it is described in the Revelation of John. And from it we learn at the same time what this beast originally signified. In 17:8 we read: "The beast that thou sawest was and is not, and is about to come out of the abyss, to go into perdition." The reference is not to the reappearance of Nero to whom it is referred later on; rather, it means that the beast that is to appear before the end had formerly appeared. Indeed we read of a monster that was defeated by God in olden times in several places of the Old Testament. Two of the clearest passages are Isa. 51:9, where God is asked: "Is it not thou that didst cut Rahab in pieces, that didst pierce the monster?" and Ps. 74:13 f., where it is said of him: "Thou breakest the heads of the sea-monsters in the waters, thou breakest the heads of leviathan in pieces."

Now it is clear that such a conception could not originate in Israel; it is therefore quite comprehensible that a great many scholars have tried to trace it back to another religion. But Tiamat, whom in the Babylonian epic of the creation Marduk is said to have conquered, is described as a woman, not as a beast. Still we have a great many plastic representations of the fight of a Babylonian god with a monster, by which the monster of hoary antiquity may be understood. A similar tradition is found in Parseeism; nay here the snake Azi Dahaka, as that monster is called with the Parsees, is not only going to reappear before the end, but is identified with worldly powers, just as the beasts in Daniel and in the Revelation of John. There can be no doubt that this expectation in Judaism and Christianity is traceable to other religions; and perhaps this also holds good with regard to other peculiarities of the Jewish Christian eschatology.

But before we answer this question we must discuss the verses immediately following the description of the four beasts: "I beheld till thrones were placed, and one that was ancient of days did sit: his raiment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like pure wool: his throne was fiery flames, and the wheels thereof burning fire. A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him; thousands of thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times

ten thousand stood before him: the judgment was set, and the books were opened"—the books in which all deeds of men, or the names of those who are destined for eternal life or eternal death, are recorded. "I beheld even till the beast was slain, and its body destroyed, and it was given to be burned with fire. And as for the rest of the beasts, their dominion was taken away." Since God—for he is of course the Ancient of Days—was mentioned in the beginning of the passage, it would have been more natural to describe all this in the active form, if he really was to perform it; so from the fact that the passive form is used, we must conclude that God is not to emerge from his majestic absenteeism. How different this conception then is from that which had been in vogue! Even such a late writer as the author of the sixty-third chapter of Isaiah does not hesitate to say: "Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah? this that is glorious in his apparel, marching in the greatness of his strength? I that speak in righteousness, mighty to save. Wherefore art thou red in thine apparel and thy garments like him that treadeth in the winevat? I have trodden the winepress alone; and of the peoples there was no man with me; yea, I trod them in mine anger, and trampled them in my wrath; and their lifeblood is sprinkled upon my garments, and I have stained all my raiment." Such a conception was utterly unacceptable to later generations; so instead of this extermination of his enemies by God, a great assize was expected, and even at that God was not to do anything. We shall presently see how the Messiah was involved in this transcendent view of God, and how this whole process ultimately influenced also the Christian eschatology.

There is one point in the description of this assize that demands a more detailed survey. God's throne is fiery flames and a fiery stream issues from before him by which the beast is burned. This is not found in the earlier Old Testament conception, but only in Judaism and Christianity on the one hand and Parseeism on the other, so this expectation of a destruction of the world by fire must have been borrowed from the same source.

And now we come to the most important verses in the whole chapter. "Behold, there came with the clouds of heaven one like unto a son of man, and he came even to the ancient of days, and they

brought him near before him, and there was given him dominion and glory, and a kingdom, that all the peoples, nations, and languages should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed." This one like unto a son of man is later on interpreted as symbolic of the people of the saints of the Most High; but this could not have been the original meaning of the term. For (1) inasmuch as the beasts have been derived from tradition we must expect the same to hold good for the son of man. (2) His coming with the clouds of heaven is not explained though it is not clear in itself, and on the contrary, it does not at all apply to the people of Israel. (3) Later writers, as we shall see, understood by the son of man the Messiah, in a special sense of the word; however, they could hardly have misinterpreted Daniel in such a way, but must therein have followed an independent tradition, from which at the same time they could derive the additions found with them, but not in Daniel. In other words, there must have existed a tradition, according to which a man who had pre-existed in heaven would appear on earth.

Now such a tradition could hardly have been born in Israel; it must have been borrowed from another religion. Indeed, we know that the Persians, later on at least, venerated the first man as God; so it was probably for this reason that the Jews called the Messiah in so far as he was to sit in judgment, son of man. How this whole expectation originated we shall see presently.

One point in this picture of the future has not yet been explained; the last king of the kingdoms preceding that of Israel shall have power to change the times and the law a time and times and half a time. A similar statement is made in the last chapter of Daniel and in the Revelation of John: the dominion of the last enemy shall last 42 months, or 1,290 or 1,335 days. Thus this number must have been traditional too; but how it originated we cannot yet tell.

On the other chapters of Daniel we need to touch but lightly. The two beasts that appear in chap. 8 are perhaps only a differentiation of the one beast that is to appear before the end—just as the two beasts in Rev., chap. 13. The prayer of repentance in chap. 9 is characteristic of the whole mood of this period, which also furnishes the explanation of the frame of mind of those laboring and heavy

laden whom Jesus called, and of the consciousness of guilt as we find it in Paul. Finally chap. 11 shows more clearly than any of the preceding ones that the book was really written as the date given above, for it describes the events immediately preceding it much more accurately than the former ones and predicts the future in a way which did not harmonize with the facts. The author put all this into the form of a prophecy and attributed it to a well-known man of the past to promote belief in his predictions. For a similar reason all the other Jewish apocalypses, to which we must turn now, are also pseudonymous.

The oldest of them is the Book of Enoch, originally written in the Hebrew or Aramaic, preserved in an Ethiopic and incompletely in a Greek and Latin translation. It is probably even older than most scholars, following Schürer, at present believe, nothing pointing to a later date than 64 B.C. Nor can it be proved that chaps. 1-36, 72-105, ever enjoyed a separate existence. The whole book consists of different traditions which perhaps had been committed to writing before they were incorporated into the present book; but nobody can tell whether some of them, and which, were connected with each other before that time.

The book begins with a general description of the coming judgment in chaps. 1-5. Here we read the passage quoted from it by the epistle of Jude. Then follows a twofold report on the fall of the angels who also are to be punished ultimately at the end of all things; they are represented as having married mortal women. It is well known that the same myth is found in Gen., chap. 6; but it is also presupposed, when Paul writes to the Corinthians that their women ought to have an "authority on their head, because of the angels," who otherwise could be enticed by their beauty. Then follows a description of Enoch's journeys, which was inserted here because in it things and persons connected with the final judgment were mentioned. Most interesting for the New Testament scholar is chap. 20, where, according to the Greek text at least, seven angels are mentioned, the origin of which, however, can be discussed only later, and chap. 22, where Hades is no longer the same for all men, as in the Old Testament, but has undergone a fourfold division. In one of them, which is for the souls of the righteous, there is a spring of water just as in

the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, in Luke, chap. 16. In another division Enoch notices a spirit whose complaining voice penetrates to heaven and he is told by the angel Raphael who guides him: "This is the spirit which went forth from Abel, whom his brother Cain slew, and he keeps complaining of him till his seed is destroyed from the face of the earth"—which may serve as an explanation of Heb. 11:9, where Abel is described as yet speaking though being dead.

But the similitudes in chap. 37-71 form the most interesting part of the book. For here the Messiah, or, as he is called here, the Son of Man, who was chosen and bidden by God before the creation of the world and for evermore, is represented as sitting in judgment, in the place of God who seemed to be too transcendent even for that. There can be no doubt that such an expectation had to do with Jesus' belief in his second coming.

Apparently only after this last judgment a last attack of a hostile power is expected. In general this belief was as old as Ezekiel, and perhaps even older; here the hostile power is identified with the Parthians and Medes, who threatened Palestine during the two previous centuries, and in the same form, as we shall see, the expectation is preserved even in the Revelation of John.

The astronomical book, as we are wont to call it, or the book of the courses of the luminaries of the heaven and the relations of each, as the author himself terms it, is inserted here because all this shall become chaos ere the end. Then follow two visions of Enoch, the one referring to the flood, which is here as so often in Judaism and early Christianity regarded as "prototype of the last judgment," the other referring to the history of the people from Adam forth. Of course properly speaking, Enoch did not need to see in a vision what had happened before his time; hence here the author has either made use of a vision ascribed to Adam or more probably—for not even Adam needed to see in a vision how he and his wife would be born—he has forgotten his part. All these chapters are of little weight for our purpose; so I only emphasize the fact that Enoch is said to have had these two visions before he took a wife. That is, virginity is considered as the higher form of morality, just as not only by the author of the Revelation of John, but also by Paul.

More important for us is the apocalypse of the ten weeks which is incorporated into the book of woes and consolations, contained in chap. 93 and 91:12-17, for originally these verses must have followed chap. 93. Here two judgments are distinguished. In the eighth week the righteous are to reign, in the ninth "all the words of the godless are to vanish from the whole earth, and the world is to be consigned to destruction, and all mankind shall seek the path of righteousness, and after this, in the tenth week the great eternal judgment shall occur in which He will execute vengeance amongst the angels." So the older expectation of an earthly kingdom and the more modern of a new heaven and a new earth are put side by side, just as in some other Jewish apocalypses, of which we shall hear presently, in the Revelation of John and in I Cor. 15:23 ff.

But before we turn to these later Jewish apocalypses we must speak of another which was written about the beginning of our era, the Assumption of Moses. Only a part of it survives and that in a Latin translation made from the Greek. Whether the book was originally written in the Hebrew or Aramaic we cannot tell, and certainly its author was no zealot, as Schürer believes, since a zealot would hardly have passed by in silence the rising of the Maccabees, but a pietist and rigorist who expected salvation from God's interference and strongly disapproved the hypocrisy of the Pharisees. "Though their hands and their minds touch unclean things," says he, "yet their mouth will speak great things; they will say furthermore do not touch me lest thou shouldst pollute me." So we find here a remarkable illustration of Christ's criticism of the Pharisees; but as for the rest this book is of comparatively little interest.

Much more important are the two last apocalypses, which must be considered here, the apocalypses of Baruch and of Ezra. The former is probably the older one, indeed written soon after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A. D. and probably in Hebrew; it is extant only in a Syriac version. The book is a unity, though like most of the other apocalypses it employed different traditions. I can mention here only the most important of them.

In chap. 2 of Baruch, Jeremiah and all those who are like them are commanded to leave Jerusalem, for their works are to this city as a firm pillar and their prayers as a strong wall; i. e., it cannot be

destroyed as long as these righteous men are in it. Thus here the theory is presupposed that good deeds may be put to other person's account, a theory which in part brought about Paul's interpretation of Christ's death. His philosophy of the origin of sin as due to the fall of Adam, on the other hand, has in part at least its parallel in the apocalypses of Baruch and Ezra since these writings also derive the universality of death from the fall of the first man. Moreover both of them contain very complete descriptions of the calamities which according to Jewish and Christian expectation are to precede the end. The apocalypse of Baruch discriminated between twelve periods of these tribulations: "in the first period there will be the beginning of commotions. And in the second there will be slayings of the great ones. And in the third there will be the fall of many by death. And in the fourth the sending of desolation. And in the fifth famine and the withholding of rain. And in the sixth earthquakes and terrors. . . . And in the eighth a multitude of portents and incursions of the Shedim. And in the ninth the fall of fire. And in the tenth rapine and much oppression. And in the eleventh wickedness and unchastity. And in the twelfth period confusion from the mingling together of all those things aforesaid." In chap. 40 we hear of a last leader of the enemies that is to appear before the end; that is in general the same person as the man of sin in II Thess. and the Antichrist in the Johannine epistles. Moreover there is in chaps. 50 f. a theory relative to the bodies of those raised from the dead somewhat similar to that brought forward by Paul in I Cor., chap. 15: "The earth will then restore the dead, which it now receives in order to preserve them, making no change in their form, but as it has received, so will it restore them. For then it will be necessary to show to the living that the dead have come to life again and that those that had departed have returned again. And it will come to pass, when they have severally recognized those whom they now know, then judgment will grow strong, and those things which before were spoken of will come. And it will come to pass, when that appointed day has gone by, that then shall the aspect of those who are condemned be afterwards changed, and the glory of those who are justified." Finally in chap. 54 as well as in some passages of the apocalypse of Ezra, not only works, but also faith is spoken of as justifying. It was in opposition to this Jewish conception

that Paul formulated the principle: we reckon therefore that a man is justified by faith apart from the works of the law.

The apocalypse of Ezra, usually known in America as the second book of Ezra, has been read in the Christian church more than any other Jewish apocalypse, excepting of course the book of Daniel. We have a Latin, Syriac, Ethiopic, Armenian, and two Arabic translations of it; it was even appended to the Vulgate and to some German and English versions of the Bible. Luther, it is true, would have liked to cast it into the Elbe, but as a matter of fact it is the most thrilling picture of Jewish thought at the time of Christ and Paul which has survived. The book, says Professor F. C. Porter, "records an inward struggle, as real as that of the writer of Job, in which an earnest religious thinker seeks to maintain his faith in monotheism and in salvation through the law over against opposing facts; against the ill fortune of Israel in the loss of its temple and nationality, against the power of evil in this world in general, and against the inability of the law to produce righteousness in man because of his evil heart." In the first vision Ezra received an answer similar to that of Job: "They that dwell upon the earth can understand nothing, but what is upon the earth;"—and as of course he is not satisfied with it, he is consoled. "If thou shalt remain, thou wilt see, and if thou shalt live long, thou wilt wonder; for the world hasteth fast to pass away." In the second vision he is at first asked: "Lovest thou Israel better than he that made it?" but only the same insufficient solutions of the problem are repeated. Finally in the third vision Ezra is told that it is their own fault if men perish, but that of course fails to help him. Nor is it worth much that the punishment does not begin immediately after death, that there is an intermediate state, as it is assumed in the New Testament too; the idea, that on the day of judgment the righteous shall apologize for the godless or pray in their behalf to the Most High, is rejected. Once more God's love is appealed to, but the angel, who speaks with Ezra, answers: "The Most High hath made this world for many, but the world to come for few." Once more he is assured: "Thou comest far short that thou shouldest be able to love my creature more than I—but this love is meant only for a few." So the problem remains unsolved; it could be solved only by the belief in God's love as Christ preached it.

The fourth, fifth, and sixth visions resemble those in the second part of the Book of Daniel, in Enoch 85 ff., and one in the apocalypse of Baruch which I have not yet mentioned. In the fourth, Ezra sees how a woman, who mourned for the loss of her only son, is suddenly glorified, and how in her place a great city appears. The angel explains that the woman is Zion and her son the temple and that the city now before his eyes is the glorious Jerusalem which shall eternally endure. Probably this idea would not have been expressed in such a way if the story had not been transmitted to the author.

The fifth vision describes Rome and its fall under the figure of an eagle threatened by a lion. Perhaps here too an older tradition was made use of; from its present form it is to be concluded that the whole book was written in or a little after 96 A. D.

The sixth vision is parallel in so far as it also pictures the last judgment, but it does this in another, more universalistic way: not only Rome but all the nations shall be judged; and the Messiah, or, as he is called here again, the Son of Man, is described in the vision itself otherwise than in its interpretation. In the vision itself we read: "He neither lifted up his hand, nor held a sword, nor any weapon of war; but I saw only how he sent out of his mouth as it had been a blast of fire, and out of his lips a flaming breath, and from his tongue he sent forth sparks and tempests." Certainly this originally had another sense than that which is found in it by the author who represents God—these two visions are explained by God himself—as saying: "This my Son shall punish those nations, which have come, for their godlessness, that is like the tempest; and shall bring before them their evil thoughts, and the torments wherewith they shall begin to be tormented, which are like the flame; and shall destroy them without labor by the law, which is like the fire." But it is remarkable that here, as in the preceding vision, the Messiah is represented as judge; for we learn thereby again how wide-spread this conception must have been at Christ's time.

In consequence of the last vision Ezra restores the ninety-four books which had been burned at the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians—a tradition held by a great many other writers. Twenty-four books shall be published—these are the canonical books of the Old Testament; the seventy others shall be delivered

only to them that are wise among the people—these are the apocalypses. They were then more highly esteemed, by some Jews at least, than even the canonical books of the Old Testament; but later on they were rejected by them, so that they were preserved to us only by the Christian church.

And how should the modern world estimate them, apart from their importance for the explanation of the New Testament and especially the Revelation of John? This is not the place to speak of the value of this whole apocalyptic literature in general; but even here we pause to say that the Jewish apocalypses are inestimable sources for our knowledge of the religious development of the Jewish nation. The picture of Judaism would be very one-sided, nay, the finest and most admirable colors in it would be wanting, if we did not possess these books.

THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM

(MARK, CHAP. 13)

REV. ELIJAH A. HANLEY, D.D.

Providence, R. I.

Jesus and his disciples were standing in the presence of architectural splendor which embodied the history and ideals of the nation. He saw the shadow of dark calamity sweep over the land, leaving desolation in its path and working ruin to city and temple. But he knew that his gospel would be preached to all nations and his cause move on to glorious triumph. The disciples were to take heed unto themselves. They must not be terrified or diverted from their true mission. Stepping aside from the physical calamity, they were to look steadfastly for the triumph of the Kingdom, giving an unfaltering testimony and knowing that the divine spirit would operate through them.

THE EVENT

Let us go forward exactly forty years from the date of this utterance and look upon Jerusalem in April of that fatal year of 70 A. D. Jesus has been put to death but still lives. The disciples have been cruelly persecuted, first by the temple authorities and then by the powers of Rome. Nero has given his atrocities to history, Peter and Paul suffering martyrdom. It is just before the Passover and the city is full of pilgrims. But the gates are closed, for war is in the land. Over the hills comes the army of Titus and on the Mount of Olives where Jesus had sat, the Tenth legion is making its camp.

Four years before the Jews had rebelled. Vespasian swiftly subdued Galilee and southern Judea, then waited while conflicting parties butchered each other in Jerusalem. Proceeding at last to attack the city, he was hailed emperor and left the grim work to his son Titus. About this time, it is said, all Christians left the city. Titus stood not on his orders. After a terrible siege lasting five months, the city was taken and destroyed in September, A. D. 70.

ITS SIGNIFICANCE

Thus we see the removal of an institution which withstood the march of progress. The temple had a noble history, but history is a dangerous thing; it may look only to the past and forget that God is marching on. The temple stood face to face with a new epoch which it could neither see nor serve. Accordingly it left itself no alternative.

Little can we appreciate the gloom with which men saw home, nation, temple disappear under an awful misfortune. Yet light breaks from another source and the cause of righteousness does not lapse. From under the shadow of that temple faith went forth to the conquest of the world. In its onward march the truth of Christ swung free from institutional Judaism just as in the Reformation faith disengaged itself from Roman ecclesiasticism or, indeed, as at the present day, the gospel is being freed from all sectarian limitations.

The event has suggested a world catastrophe in which the whole natural order shall finally pass away. What will be the end of this material world, we may leave to speculative thought—but we can well see through the long vistas of history what will endure. The temple passes, the nation falls, perhaps the church also shall pass away, but the kingdom of Christ shall move on forever.

We see here also the peril of neglected opportunity. The people, left unspiritual, finally broke into political revolt that brought destruction. Only one thing could have saved them—the conception of their mission taught by Jesus. Could he have had his way, the history of the Jewish people would, no doubt, have been very different. And if today we give the gospel to all classes, such a terrible catastrophe may be avoided; but if the disciples of Jesus hold aloof from the vast social forces now gathering among the industrial classes of our western civilization by the ever-increasing flood of immigration, the time may come when untaught human madness will bring on another destruction of the temple, another French Revolution.

Rejoice that we live in an age which is creative, with our faces toward the rising sun; rejoice that our social institutions are plastic and every man may have his part in creating the nation, the race, the church, that are still to be; but rejoice most that through the ages one increasing purpose runs and that our true citizenship is in a Kingdom which shall endure forever.

THE SONG OF ENTRY

MATT. 21:9; MARK 11:9; LUKE 19:38; JOHN 12:13

C. H. JOHNSON
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The comparison of the gospel accounts of the Song of Entry, in the light of the Hebrew tendency to parallelistic and strophic expression, suggests the following reconstruction of it:

"Hosanna, Hosanna, Hosanna,
Hosanna to the Son of David;

"Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord,
Blessed is the King that cometh in the name of the Lord; the
King of Israel;

"Blessed is the kingdom that cometh,
The kingdom of our Father David;

"Peace in Heaven and glory in the highest,
Hosanna in the highest. *Amen.*"

THE EPISTLES TO THE THESSALONIANS¹

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED
The University of Chicago

The earliest book in the New Testament is First Thessalonians. Paul had doubtless written many a letter before, and perhaps some of no less worth and interest than this, but of such we know nothing; and this was the first of his letters to be kept for later times. It is suggestive and perhaps significant that long and busily as Paul had worked in Asia, it was a letter of his to a European church that was the first to be preserved. As the germ of the priceless collection of Paul's letters, indeed as the nucleus about which gathered in time the whole New Testament, First Thessalonians possesses extraordinary significance. The beginning of writing and of preserving the New Testament was made with this epistle. When Paul sat down in some small room of Aquila's lodging, or under some sheltering arcade in Corinth, to dictate this letter, Christian literature there was none. When he arose from the task, the history of Christian literature had begun. And when the Thessalonian brethren, upon reading the letter, saw that it was worth keeping and reading again, the first step toward a New Testament had been taken. That act of insight, or of affection, should go far to justify for them the immortality of distinction, not a little coveted by later churches, which recipients of Paul's letters have ever since enjoyed.

Whether a European church was the first to call forth from Paul so noble a letter, or was only the first to have the loyalty or the wisdom to preserve it, it was probably no ordinary company of brethren whom Paul had left behind when he fled from Thessalonica with his work hardly half done. One of them was Jason, who entertained the missionaries, and suffered violence on their behalf, when they were driven from the town. Another, perhaps a friend of these earliest days, appears long after, to share with Luke the hardships of Paul's journey to Rome, and is mentioned more than once in the epistles of the Roman imprisonment—Aristarchus of Thessalonica. Aristar-

¹ This study covers the International Sunday School Lesson for Aug. 8, 1909.

chus was with Paul at Ephesus and seems to have been in greater danger than Paul himself on the occasion of the riot there; and later he, with Secundus, represented the Thessalonian church on the commission which carried the great collection to Jerusalem.

The eyes of the world have lately been on Salonica, as the headquarters of the Turkish revolution of 1909. In the first century, as in the twentieth, it was an important and flourishing city.² Cassander had founded it in 315 B. C. and named it for his wife, Thessalonica, the daughter of Philip of Macedon. Its administration by politarchs, once attested only by Luke, is now evidenced by numerous inscriptions, and seems to have been a type of city government common in Macedonia.³ Coming to this thriving city fresh from his disastrous experience at Philippi, Paul, with his companions Silvanus and Timothy, had thrown himself into the work of preaching the gospel, and had been at once rewarded by notable results. The news of his remarkable success spread through Macedonia and reached Achaia, in some places arousing interest in Paul and his preaching in advance of his coming. But Jewish jealousy, kindled doubtless by the loss of some hard-won proselytes, soon forced the evangelists to fly by night from the town. The same hostility afterward pursued them to Beroea, and finally drove Paul at least out of Macedonia altogether.

Meantime Paul was anxious for his Thessalonian converts, from whom he had been suddenly torn, after a few weeks' acquaintance. The Jewish foes who had so relentlessly followed him, could not be supposed to have neglected the Christian company at home, about which all the disturbance had arisen. Now, as often afterward, the care of all the churches burdened Paul. Had the Thessalonians been bullied out of their new faith, and come to detest the apostle they had so recently welcomed and obeyed? The suspense at length became more than he could bear; and though it left him alone at Athens to do it, for Silvanus seems to have been sent on a similar errand to Philippi, he sent Timothy back to Thessalonica. Timothy's errand was not simply to learn how the Thessalonians stood in the Christian warfare; he was also to confirm them in their new faith, and com-

² Cf. E. D. Burton, "Notes on Thessalonica," *Biblical World*, VIII (1896), 10-19.

³ Cf. E. D. Burton, "The Politarchs," *Amer. Journal of Theology*, II (1898), 598-632.

plete, as far as might be, the foundation work which Paul had so abruptly dropped.

Paul might have waited for Timothy at Athens, but he seems to have proceeded to the neighboring city of Corinth, where conditions for Christian work were more favorable. It was probably at Corinth that Timothy, perhaps after an absence of some weeks, joined him with his news. The Thessalonians had been steadfast. The petty persecutions of their neighbors had not quenched their new faith. They were of course far from being seasoned and intelligent believers; much remained for them to learn and to attain. But the root of the matter was in them, and they had held fast to Paul and his gospel even in the hour when he seemed to have abandoned them and when all men spoke ill of him. Paul's heart, burdened so often by anxieties and discouragements, leaped up at the news. All his old joy in those first great days of amazing success at Thessalonica, all his early attachment for these true-hearted Thessalonians, rushes back to his mind. How happily he had worked among them! and how unselfishly too, for the slanders since heaped upon him by his opponents in Macedonia have reached his ears and awakened his righteous indignation. His had been no self-interested course. Covetousness and ambition had not been in his heart, much less any baser aim. Rather he had sedulously abstained from burdening anyone, preferring to support himself by working at his trade, while he devoted the few hours left free after this day's toil to preaching the gospel. The striking "apology" (chap. 2) is no mere afterthought of Paul's. It is a bold and serious grapple with charges manifestly still current in Thessalonica. Such charges most itinerant teachers, especially of new religious views, have to encounter, too often with good reason. Paul's self-respect demands that he silence them; still more, the stability of his work at Thessalonica requires it. Hence his solemn appeals to their recollection, to his own conscience, to God himself. "Ye are witnesses, and God *be witness*, how blamelessly we conducted ourselves toward you."

First Thessalonians is remarkably rich in personal reminiscence. In its early chapters we can trace Paul at Philippi, Thessalonica, and Athens. His companions are Silvanus and Timothy. Christian work in Greece is in its beginnings, and while often attended with the

most flattering results, as at Thessalonica, yet calls forth the bitterest opposition. As this last has driven Paul from Thessalonica, it has also prevented his return thither, eager as he has been to see his friends there again. So Timothy has been his messenger and has now rejoined him with his welcome news. Nothing stands out more clearly in the letter than Paul's keen personal attachment to his new disciples. His attitude toward them is no professional one. They are his children, to whom he has behaved more like a tender mother or a watchful father than an exalted apostle—a commissioner—of God.

This long retrospect is primarily the spontaneous, unstudied expression of Paul's own relief and delight at Timothy's good news. It had no doubt for its first readers practical, as well as personal, value. Paul shows himself in it to be all and more than they had thought. Their love and loyalty he repays double. And his gospel is illuminated and enriched thereby, for it is not a thing apart from life and society, but a thing to be lived, meaningless and non-existent unless realized in personal relationships. This intimate personal letter, in which Paul unbosoms himself to his Thessalonian friends, is a most vital commentary on his Christianity, showing them and us a religious leader, loyal, devoted, sensitive yet heroic, indefatigable, practical, and wise. Could there be a better commentary on the creative power of the gospel than this intimate insight into what it had made of Paul? The message of Jesus sought embodiment not in books or buildings, but in men, and what sort of men it produced is shown earliest by this letter.

The hortatory part of the letter, chaps. 4, 5, has almost the air of an afterthought—"Finally then, brethren." There is no flagrant immorality to be rebuked, as afterward at Corinth; no imminent doctrinal peril, as in Galatia. What is needed is rather a reinforcement of teachings already given. "Ye know what charges we gave you through the Lord Jesus." God's will is that they maintain a life of purity and sanctity, unstained by the heathen vice about them. Especially the marriage relation is to be guarded and honored. In love of the brethren they are already zealous; they have only to abound in it more and more. Perhaps some have been taking advantage of the generosity of their brethren, however, for a hint is added against

the tendency already discernible, to neglect the tasks of daily life, in expectation of the speedy coming of the Lord.

Already, it would seem, some Thessalonian believers have died. About these there is especial sorrow at Thessalonica, for it is thought that such persons will not share in the joy of the Lord's coming. Nothing could more clearly reflect the current expectation of the Lord's speedy return. The apostle dispels this sadness by assuring them that these departed friends will not lose their part in that great event, nor be at any disadvantage. "Them also that are fallen asleep in Jesus will God bring with him." Their resurrection will precede the meeting of the Lord with his surviving followers. As to the time of this tremendous event, Paul has no word to say. His only counsel is for soberness and watchful readiness for its coming, which is to be as sudden and unexpected as that of the thief in the night.

The varied exhortations that remain (5:12-22) are designed to strengthen the disciples in their individual Christian lives and in their relations to one another and to the church. Orderliness and loyalty to their leaders, mutual helpfulness, patience, joy, prayerfulness, thankfulness, responsiveness to the inward guidance of the spirit—these are prominent among these concluding exhortations. The last sentences of all were perhaps added by Paul with his own hand, as in the corresponding paragraph of the second letter, where Paul's autograph salutation follows the benediction.

The contribution of this short letter to our knowledge of the faith and practice of the early church is considerable. The main facts as to the life of Jesus are recorded in it. An extraordinary insight is gained into the mind of Paul—not only into his thought, but into his character. His sturdy faith, his devoted and affectionate nature, his utter forgetfulness of himself in his enthusiasm for the work of Christ, his yearning for the children of his ministry, his tenderness and sensitivity—all are here reflected without reserve. The Christian teaching of Paul, his gospel, is here in its main outlines, though vaguely shadowed rather than explicitly stated. And here is a picture of the early church in one of its first European homes, in the midst of manifold perils of persecution, corruption, enthusiasm, and error, which successively or simultaneously menaced it. It is a ground for perpetual gratitude and satisfaction that the work in which these precious

records are preserved is just what it is: an original, personal letter, written out of the fulness of the heart, by the leading Christian of his day, and sent from friend to friend.

Against the authenticity of Second Thessalonians as a work of Paul, two considerable objections have been brought. The first may be called the eschatological argument. It has been urged by Holtzmann, that the eschatology of the second letter differs so fundamentally from that of the first that both cannot be from the same hand. In the first, the day of the Lord is to come unexpectedly, without warning, like a thief in the night. In the second, the appearance of the Lawless One and his temporary triumph are to precede the great day. The second objection is psychological. The second letter is too much like the first to have been written by the same author. It follows the same plan and exhibits at some points the same language. While these objections are worthy of serious consideration, they cannot be said to outweigh the direct internal and external evidence (Marcion's canon, A. D. 140-50) for the Pauline authorship. As to the first argument, it must be conceded that Paul's eschatology would be not a little simplified by the elimination of the difficult chap. 2 of II Thess.; but that Paul would not have met the rising Thessalonian belief that the Day of the Lord was already present, by adducing such considerations as these, we cannot know. Certainly his argument is not more rabbinical here than in Gal. 4:21-28. Nor is too finished a consistency to be expected in the teachings of Paul, always controlled by a purpose primarily practical. The psychological argument rests upon the assumption that Paul kept no notes or copies of his letters, which may or may not be true. The two letters are certainly much alike in outline, but it is doubtful whether they are suspiciously so. Indeed with a writer less strikingly original and resourceful than Paul, we should be inclined to lay hold of this very parallel in support of the genuineness of the second letter. Nor is it strange that Paul should repeat and strengthen teachings already given, and enforce them as before by the appeal to his own example.

The situation which called forth this second letter to Thessalonica presents a natural development of that reflected in the first. A few months have passed. The Thessalonians have received Paul's first letter and have doubtless been cheered and helped thereby. What

he has written about the Lord's coming, however, has given rise to the curious idea that the day has already come, and that all are living in it. Lest this idea should seem too unreasonable, it is well to remind ourselves that early Christian teaching did sometimes describe the kingdom of God as future and also present, and the latter view might well seem to involve the presence of the Day which was generally understood to usher in the kingdom. Nor is this all. Some of the Thessalonians are so absorbed in the thought that the day and the kingdom have come, and that old things have passed away, that they have given up their daily labor, and are content to live upon the bounty of their more affluent or more industrious brethren. A hint of this tendency appears in the first letter, in the reproof of the disorderly, while the admonition to abound in brotherly love with which it is connected may have been called forth by the dawning conviction at Thessalonica that the idle were taking advantage of the industrious under the cloak of the new faith. The apostle had given an example of industry, on his visit at Thessalonica. He had expressly enjoined it upon his Thessalonian followers while still among them, and he had reiterated this injunction in his first letter. That some Thessalonian believers are still disposed to be idle stirs him to an unwonted degree. He repeats his precept: If any will not work, let him not eat. Such as refuse to obey this ultimatum are to be practically dropped from the Christian fellowship.

The second chapter of II Thess. presents the main problem of the letter. It was doubtless for this chapter primarily that the letter was written. The Thessalonians are not to suppose, as some seem to do, that the Day of the Lord is already present. Paul insists in the strongest terms that this is not the case. Indeed how should it be, since the apostasy must first occur, and the revealing (Apocalypse) of the Lawless One? Paul nowhere mentions the Antichrist, but it is difficult to avoid the impression that he is here referring to that obscure Jewish conception. It seems to have been a Jewish idea, current about the beginning of our era, that in the last days the forces of evil would find their culminating embodiment in some individual of the tribe of Dan, who should make the last impious attack upon Jehovah and his people, only to fail and perish through the might of the Messiah. To this teaching, which plays little part in the New Testament,

being only vaguely and superficially reflected in the epistles of John, Paul now appeals, the more boldly as he has already communicated it to the Thessalonians, when present with them. The Lawless One is indeed already at work, but there is now, he reminds them, a restraining influence and individual, and while that restrainer lasts, the Lawless One cannot reach his full manifestation. Two problems arise from this difficult passage. Has Paul a definite individual in mind, when he speaks of the Lawless One? Some have thought that the impious behavior of the emperor Gaius in seeking to erect his own statue in the sanctuary at Jerusalem is reflected in the words, "takes his seat in the sanctuary of God, declaring himself to be God;" and this may be true. But Gaius was long since dead, and Claudius ruled in his stead. The second problem is the Restrainer, once spoken of in the masculine and once in the neuter. Here it seems natural to recognize the emperor and the empire. These had already more than once held back from Paul and his few followers the forces of Jewish hostility; in these very days at Corinth in the midst of which Paul writes the letter, "the Jews with one accord rose up against Paul, and brought him before the judgment seat;" but Gallio, Seneca's brother, was proconsul, and without waiting for Paul's defense, he quashed the charge, and had the accusers driven away. On many another occasion Paul, the citizen, found the Roman arm stretched out to shield him and his followers from the same relentless foes, and he may well have rejoiced in Roman protection in the last years of Claudius, as he could not ten years after, in the worst days of Nero. We may well believe then that by the Restrainer Paul meant the empire and the emperor.

When the second letter had followed the first to Macedonia, what was its fate? The Thessalonian brethren, Jason, Aristarchus, and Secundus perhaps among them, must have read it with keen interest, and discussed its meaning in their Christian meeting and as they went about their daily work, now resumed no doubt by all. They perhaps read it again on another Lord's day, when they came together at dawn or for the supper, as Pliny tells us was the Christian practice fifty years later. The interesting thing is this, that these fragile papyrus rolls were not suffered by their possessors to perish or disappear. Somewhere among them was one, perhaps an elder of the

company, who was charged, or took it upon himself, to keep these letters, against the future. We have seen how Thessalonian Christians were near Paul in his later movements to Jerusalem and even to Rome, and it is reasonable to suppose that the Thessalonian congregation maintained its interest in Paul as the neighboring Philippian church certainly did. When the death of the apostle gave a new value to his letters, and the disposition to treasure them manifested itself, these short letters came again to the attention of the Thessalonians, and later still when men began to gather Paul's letters into a collection they found their way, certainly by the time of Marcion (A. D. 140), into that group.

When Paul left Corinth at the end of his first visit, he had begun our New Testament and indeed Christian literature with these two short letters. The fact that the distinctively Christian literature available for private and church use at Thessalonica was probably limited to these, and in most places was even less, helps us to realize one of the problems of the Christian work of the time. What a boon must the first gospel have been, in teaching and building up new believers such as from this time on were pressing into the church. Before Paul ceased to instruct the churches, he had written more than one-fourth of what we now include in the New Testament. Nor did his work stop with this, for most of the other writings of the New Testament—Synoptic Gospels, Acts, Hebrews, and others—exhibit his influence. And it was a great and fateful thing for the subsequent welfare of Christianity, that this earliest and really normative part of the New Testament came from the fearless creative mind and the great generous heart of one who was ready to spend and to be spent utterly for those among whom he worked; who sought not to have lordship over their faith but to be the helper of their joy.

Exploration and Discovery

THE GEZER STONE

Palestine continues to surrender her historical treasures to the patient and diligent biblical students who, with pick and shovel, are determined to read her past.

The latest important discovery was made this year by Professor Macalister. It consists of a stone tablet with an inscription, found in the ruins of the ancient Canaanite city of Gezer. This city, situated to the west and a little north of Jerusalem, more than midway to the Mediterranean port of Joppa, or Jaffa, was one of those that upheld the pride of the ancient Philistines in checking the invasion of the Israelite clans as they came fresh from the desert, full of the spirit of conquest and led by their valiant captain, Joshua. The editor of the Book of Joshua, who wrote probably some time after the Exile, confesses (Josh. 16:10) that "the Canaanites who dwelt in Gezer" were never dislodged by the Israelites, but "dwell among the Ephraimites unto this day," and then adds by way of patriotic partial satisfaction, "but they serve under tribute." The writer of the Book of Judges marks a similar limit to the conquest of Canaan as respecting Gezer (Judg. 1:29). Some three or four hundred years after Joshua, a king of Egypt, contemporary with King Solomon, captured and sacked Gezer, and gave it as dowry to his daughter who had become the bride of King Solomon; and Solomon had rebuilt it with other pillaged cities of the land (I Kings 9:15-17).

This stone or slab of Gezer is inscribed in archaic writing similar to that of the famous Siloam inscription discovered about thirty years ago (1880), which gave a specimen of the writing in Jerusalem, at the time of the prophets Isaiah the First and Micah, and during the reign of King Hezekiah, about 700 B. C. The Moabite stone of King Mesha, discovered in 1868, and the stone of Zakir, king of Hamath, discovered later, date from 890 to 700 B.C. and are written in similar style and characters, the style and character being closely akin to ancient Hebrew.

The modern orientalist who first studied this Gezer stone recognized the word *month* repeated eight times in seven of the lines of its inscription. After the word month follows what seems to be the agricultural labor proper to that month. These orientalist perhaps hastily called this stone the agricultural calendar of Gezer. But there are only eight months and not twelve mentioned; and the stone appears complete as originally cut. It is

therefore subject to a different explanation as to its use and purpose, and the following is offered.

The stone is perforated with one hole, as if to be hung up in some public place for the inhabitants to read and take notice. The list of months enumerated begins with the labor of the autumn months, after the style of the Canaanites and the ancient Hebrews in civil or agricultural matters. The agricultural year began with the harvest of wheat, just as the agricultural year with the modern farmer begins practically with the spring work of plowing in March or April, and not in January.

A tentative translation and interpretation of these nine lines is here offered, including three words which are obscure:

IT IS DECREED:

- To his month of harvest; to his month of sowing
- To his month of last fruit gathering
- To the month of hemp thrashing
- To the month of barley harvest
- To the month of (wheat) harvest and storing in barns
- To his month of pressing (olives, grapes, etc.)
- To the month of summer fruits

OF THE PRINCE OF GEZER

If this translation is correct, then the inscription would not be an agricultural calendar, as was first suggested. That would hardly be useful to the people of the country, who probably knew the time to plant and sow and harvest without being told by decree or publication. But it seems to be a publication of a levy or of direct taxes due to the one signed at the bottom of the inscription as *THE MIGHTY OF GEZER*, or *PRINCE OF GEZER*—as in the Old Testament “The Mighty of Jacob” means the Prince of Israel, and by inference Yaweh. If this stone antedates the capture of the city by the Pharaoh of Egypt, then it would be the agricultural taxes levied for the support of their native Philistine prince. If it is of the date, as it probably is, of the time subsequent to Solomon, then it is the publication of the agricultural levies made by the prince that ruled under the sway of one of King Solomon’s successors.

The words “to his month” or “to the month” refer naturally to the time when the work mentioned should be done after the harvest, seed sowing, etc. The names of labors to be done correspond closely to the names in the succession of the agricultural labors mentioned in the Old Testament. For instance, the barley harvest is spoken of in the Book of Ruth and elsewhere; the prophet Amos in his vision speaks of the summer fruits typifying the approaching end of Israel, because these ripen at the end of the season

or agricultural year. It is worth noticing that with the ancient defective and probably variable spelling of those times, *the end* and *summer* or *summer fruit* were written with the same characters.

If this translation and explanation are correct, or even if subsequent discoveries and further study throw new light on this and other contemporary stones and inscriptions, one can easily appreciate the value they constitute in the study and comprehension of the writings, the people, and the life of Old Testament times, and how Palestine is still the land that explains the Book.

S. GOBIET

TANNERSVILLE, N. Y.

Work and Workers

MARCUS DODS

The death of Marcus Dods, since 1889 professor of New Testament Theology in New College, Edinburgh, removes a biblical scholar well known on both sides of the Atlantic. Professor Dods's visit to America in 1904 is well remembered and made a notable impression in this country, where he has long been well known through his numerous works in both Old and New Testament fields. His striking personality was the subject of a biographical article from the pen of his friend, the late Professor A. B. Bruce, of Glasgow, in the *Biblical World* for April, 1896 (Vol. VII, pp. 245-51).

Professor Dods died in Edinburgh, April 26, 1909, at the age of seventy-five. Memorial services were conducted in St. George's, Edinburgh, on the Sunday following, by Dr. Alexander Whyte, his life-long friend.

Marcus Dods was born in Northumberland, in 1834. He was the youngest son of Rev. Marcus Dods, minister of the Scotch church in Belford, and himself a writer upon theological subjects. The young Marcus was early taken to Edinburgh (1838), where he was educated, passing through the academy and the university, and graduating in 1854. His theological studies he pursued at the New College, Edinburgh, being licensed to preach in 1858. His "probationary" period was peculiarly trying, no less than twenty-three churches refusing him as minister. In 1864 he became minister of Renfield Free Church, Glasgow, where he remained until his appointment to the professorship of theology at New College, Edinburgh, in 1889. In 1907 he became principal of the college. His mature life was thus divided between his ministry of twenty-five years at Glasgow and his professorship at Edinburgh, held for twenty years. Professor Dods has for some time been known to be seriously ill, and while his death is not a surprise, it brings grief to a wide circle of friends, and to biblical scholarship serious loss.

Dr. Dods began to publish before his settlement at Glasgow. *The Prayer That Teaches to Pray* appeared in 1863, and from that time his activity as a publishing scholar was almost continuous. He participated in the publication of the *Ante-Nicene Library* and contributed several important parts to that monumental work.

With Dr. Whyte of Edinburgh Dr. Dods edited a useful series of

"Handbooks for Bible Classes," to which he contributed the volumes on *Genesis* (1882), and *Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi* (1879). To the *Expositor's Bible* he contributed "Genesis," "John," and "I Corinthians;" to the *Expositor's Greek Testament*, the "Gospel according to St. John" (1897). His *Commentary on Thessalonians* appeared in 1882. His latest and most comprehensive work was his Bross Lectures: *The Bible: Its Origin and Nature* (1904). Beside these he wrote a number of other books, and many articles for the *Expositor*, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, etc.

Of Dr. Dods's quarter-century of service in the Renfield Free Church, Dr. Bruce says that he was the weightiest if not the most popular preacher in Glasgow. His career as a theological professor, though early threatened by doctrinal storms, was one of real efficiency and steadily increasing influence. In him a leading scholar and theologian is removed, and an important figure in modern religious life. Indeed no one has more clearly shown how a devout religious life may be enriched by critical scholarship.

Book Reviews

A Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels. Edited by JAMES HASTINGS, D.D., with the assistance of JOHN A. SELBIE, D.D., and (in the reading of the proofs) of JOHN C. LAMBERT, D.D. Volume II. *Labour-Zion*, with Appendix and Indexes. New York: Scribners; Edinburgh: Clark, 1908. Pp. xiv+912. \$6.

One should observe that this is a dictionary of Christ *and* the gospels, not a dictionary of Christ *in* the gospels. Then one will be prepared to find Christ approached from every conceivable standpoint: that of Paul, that of other New Testament writers, that of Christian theologians of all ages, that of history as affected by him since his time, and from many other angles. There is the angle of the historian, and the angle of the theologian, and the angle of the philosopher. And within each of these there is the conservative tendency struggling with the progressive. What wonder if the picture is blurred! And no one to write on "Jesus" or on "Christ"! Why not? Is it the hopelessness of the task, the futility of attempting to delineate a clear-cut, consistent, and convincing character from the congeries of opinions, deductions, and speculations? A dictionary on the Bible must be planned for a large and varied audience, large to assure financial success, varied to meet divergent interpretations. To leave to each the task of constructing the Christ of his inheritance or his desire from the elements presented that are suitable to his conception may be the part of wisdom, if not of necessity.

There is a wealth of material of the very highest value and easy accessibility, now in this, now in that, article in this admirable volume. Every serious student of the gospels will wish to have access at all times to the treasures of learning brought together here in compact form. He will have the opportunity to make choice. If he does not like the position of the President of Toronto University on the Lord's Supper, there is for him an alternative presented by the Pusey Librarian at Oxford. If Professor Nestle's treatment of the Lord's Prayer seems technical at the expense of edification, he can turn to that by one of the sub-editors. If he is displeased with the interpretation of the death of Christ given under the word "Sacrifice," he may find satisfaction in the rigor of the thought developed under "Propitiation." If the documentary theory of the relation of the Synoptic Gospels, as advanced in Mr. W. C. Allen's treatment of Matthew, seems inadequate, one can have recourse to the oral hypothesis as developed under the hands of Mr. Arthur Wright in his article on the Gospel of Luke.

Perhaps one hesitates to face this apparent confusion and contradiction. But it is no more than an accurate reflection of the state of Christian thought and scholarship today. Is it always to be so hopelessly divided? Will the next great dictionary on these themes show no more marked progress toward unanimity? Certainly much relief would come should an editor demand of his contributors: (1) that the testimony of the writings of Paul on any theme be always treated separately from the testimony of the gospels; (2) that the thought of the Gospel of John on any subject should never be amalgamated with the ideas on that subject expressed in the Synoptic Gospels, but each set forth separately and with its own emphasis; (3) that quotations should not be permitted indiscriminately from the Synoptic Gospels, but should be taken from Mark in those passages where Matthew or Luke or both are dependent upon Mark; this one principle would lead to the complete rewriting of not a few contributions to this dictionary; (4) that the ultimate appeal should be in all cases to the results of a comparison of the documents or oral traditions underlying our present gospels, rather than to the finished form of the gospels. It is difficult to exaggerate the modifications that would be called for, and the implications of these modifications, in scores of articles in this dictionary, were such a method employed. In short, consistency would take the place of confusion, reasonable certainty would displace conjecture, violent opposition in opinions would find less of support in the records, if only those critical conclusions about the sources on which the great body of New Testament scholars are now agreed were uniformly employed in all efforts for a constructive statement of the thought of Jesus. Is it too much to expect this in the next dictionary of Christ and the gospels? And as a first attempt, might it not be well to be less ambitious, and make it a dictionary of the gospels and of the Jesus of the gospels? With such a delimitation of the task, and by the employment of reasonable and restrained critical processes, there would emerge, we believe, a character intelligible to the modern man, potent to awaken moral conviction, and calculated to secure absolute dominion wherever there is moral earnestness.

We repeat, what it is hardly necessary to say of any product from Dr. Hastings, that this is a splendidly conceived and executed work. One could mention numerous superb single articles. There are contributors who never fail to write with knowledge of the literature and with lucidity, who are open-minded and responsive, who really know what is going on, and are affected by movements that mean genuine progress. Such have a considerable part in the fashioning of important determinative portions of the volume.

HENRY BURTON SHARMAN

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

"The Bible for Home and School." Edited by SHAILER MATHEWS.
New York: Macmillan.

The Epistle to the Hebrews. By E. J. GOODSPEED, 1908.
xi+132 pages. \$0.50.

Acts. By G. H. GILBERT, 1908. viii+267 pages. \$0.75.

"The Westminster New Testament." Edited by A. E. GARVIE.
New York and London: Revell.

The Gospel of St. Matthew. By DAVID SMITH, 1908. 256
pages. \$0.75.

The Gospel of St. John. By H. W. Clark, 1908. 259 pages.
\$0.75.

The Acts of the Apostles. By H. T. Andrews, 1908. 318
pages. \$0.75.

"The Interpreter's Commentary." By LYMAN ABBOTT AND J. E.
MCFADYEN. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co.

The Epistles to the Corinthians and Galatians. By J. E.
MCFADYEN, 1909. 266 pages. \$1.50.

"The Bible for Home and School" states that it proposes to place the results of the best modern biblical scholarship at the disposal of the general reader. It does not aim to supplant the more exhaustive and technical commentaries, but to furnish a reliable handbook for the lay reader, the Sunday-school teacher, or the clergyman who wishes only such brief comments as may be necessary to make clear the meaning of the scriptural writer. An understanding of the biblical text is the controlling interest of the work. Its plan is simple. All critical processes, as well as all extreme and doubtful opinions, are eliminated. The text of the Revised Version of 1881, accompanied by a running analysis, is printed on the upper part of the page with explanatory comments beneath, and carefully prepared introductions discuss the special problems relating to each book. A subject-index is supplied, and *Hebrews* has also an index of citations from the Bible and from other early literature.

Perhaps no other New Testament book presents more difficult introductory problems than does *Hebrews*. Its authorship, its destination, its date and place of writing offer the chief perplexities. After a discussion of the evidence, Tertullian's statement that the book is from Barnabas (the early companion of Paul) is accepted. He is thought to have written to the Christians at Rome late in the time of Domitian (81-96 A.D.), and the place from which he wrote was possibly Philippi or Corinth, at least some place lying between Ephesus and Rome. The discussion of these problems is clear, the evidence is fully presented and the conclusions are

drawn with caution. The idea that Hebrews may have in some degree called forth the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians is an interesting suggestion. In the commentary proper, while the English translation is made the basis, the idea is often brought out more vividly by a fresh rendering of the original or by a concise explanatory phrase, for example, "the very image of his substance, i. e., *the exact stamp of his nature*" (1:3). The notes are compact and fairly comprehensive, the philological, historical, and theological phases of the study all receiving due attention. The comments also offer a more minute subdivision of the subject-matter than that given in the paragraph headings of the text.

Acts, the second volume to appear in this series, follows the same general lines as the first. The introduction treats such questions as character, content, authorship, date, and historical value. The discussion of the authorship begins with observations upon the so-called "we-source" which is commonly supposed to appear first in Acts 16:10. More is assigned to this document than the four groups of passages in which "we" occurs. Its author is thought to have been Luke "the beloved physician" mentioned by Paul (Col. 4:14). Further investigation leads to the conclusion that the same person also composed the rest of the book at a later date, the whole having been completed some time between 70 and 90 A.D. This general position is in agreement with Harnack's recently expressed views upon the same subject. On the basis of this conclusion the historical worth of Acts is esteemed very highly. While the book is not of uniform value throughout, and its testimony is not to be given precedence over that of the Pauline epistles, yet "as to those parts which we have no outside means of testing we are constrained by the character of the diary itself and by the evidence that its author was also the author of the entire book, to be favorably predisposed in regard to their trustworthiness." To comment upon such a book as Acts, where questions of historicity are often so perplexing, is particularly difficult, nor have all the difficulties been overcome in the present treatise. To say, for instance, that while the death of Ananias and Sapphira may be regarded as a divine judgment, we must hold that it took place according to natural laws, scarcely seems adequate. May it be interpreted as a divine judgment? Is not the real issue whether the incident actually did or did not happen? On the whole the notes are clear and accurate, and as complete as the nature of the present series permitted.

"The Westminster New Testament" also professes to adopt the standpoint of modern biblical scholarship, "but only the generally accepted results and not the vagaries of individual critics," and it would present these results "in such a fashion as to avoid unnecessarily giving any offense

or causing any difficulty to the reverent Bible student." It has in mind the needs of teachers, lay preachers, and others engaged in Christian work. The volumes are uniform in plan. Problems of introduction are discussed, the text is printed in topical sections and is followed by explanatory comments made on the basis of the English, and each volume contains an index and a colored map. The use of the old version is unfortunate. Space now used to bring the translation up to date might have served other purposes, nor have the defects of the old rendering always been corrected.

In quality there is some variety among the different parts of the series. The work upon Acts best represents the results of modern scholarship while the one upon Matthew is least satisfactory. Here the general editor's purpose to avoid the "vagaries of individual critics" seems to have been thwarted, for the reader is offered only the oral-tradition solution of the synoptic problem—a view long since discredited except by a few who still follow the lead of the English scholar, Arthur Wright. If there is one result at which modern study has arrived it is that Mark's gospel is in the main the source of the narrative material common to the synoptics. Of the entire treatment of Matthew it may be said that the reader who is interested in the historical side of the study will find very slight attention paid to his wants.

The treatment of John is somewhat more judicial in spirit, but extremely conservative in point of view. The distinct theological interest of the evangelist (who is the apostle John) is recognized, but it will not be granted that this is detrimental to the historical value of the gospel. It is "a substantially accurate record of what Jesus said and did, written by one who accompanied with him, who gives in these pages what he has seen with his eyes, what he has heard, and what his hands have handled." With this starting-point the interpreter can pass by most of the difficulties which this gospel presents to the modern student. For example, the discrepancies between John and the synoptics seem sufficiently explained by remarking that neither tells the whole tale; it is only by putting the various accounts together that we make the picture complete. But does such procedure clarify or dim the true picture of Jesus? This is one of the problems with which modern critical scholarship struggles, and more attention to this point might have been expected in a series which professes to have regard for modern issues in Bible study.

The problems of Acts are treated in a brief compass but with a degree of thoroughness. Harnack's view of Lukan authorship for the entire book is accepted, its composition is dated about 80 A.D., and as for its historical value "there can be little doubt that, taken as a whole, it gives us a faithful

picture of the development of the early church." But this opinion is held with some reserve in matters of detail, as when Luke is found to have misinterpreted the phenomenon of speaking with tongues; or to have taken literally the reference to the death of Ananias and Sapphira, whereas the story as first told narrated their spiritual death, or to have made a serious anachronism in reporting the speech of Gamaliel. Not all the difficulties are so easily disposed of, however, nor is the author inclined to make hasty pronouncements upon disputed points.

The first five volumes of "The Interpreter's Commentary" by Lyman Abbott first appeared in 1875-88, covering the gospels, Acts, and Romans. The series is now continued in this volume upon I and II Corinthians and Galatians by the Old Testament scholar, J. E. McFadyen. Brief introductions discuss some questions of interest about the epistles but do not regard particularly their special perplexities. While historical problems are not entirely ignored, they are only incidental to the type of interpretation here presented. The strength of the work lies in its appreciation of the apostle's thought. It gives in a more popular form such exposition as one would find, say, in the "Expositor's Greek Testament." The Authorized Version is printed at the top of the page and below is a topical division of the material with extended notes which interweave a new translation (the Revised Version in the main) with interpretative comments. While the work evidently is intended chiefly for those who use the English, occasionally the notes assume the reader's knowledge of Greek.

The task which each of the above series, in its own way, undertakes to perform is one which is likely to attract more attention in the future than it has in the past. In recent years the progress of biblical science has placed much new material at the disposal of the interpreter, and it is fitting that the assured results of this research should be made accessible to those who do not care to take the time or the trouble to follow the processes of investigation which engage the attention of the specialist.

SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

St. Paul's Epistles to Colossae and Laodicea; The Epistle to the Colossians viewed in relation to the Epistle to the Ephesians.
By JOHN RUTHERFURD. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Scribners, 1909. 207 pages. \$2.25.

The title and preface to this book lead the reader to expect a scholarly comparison of the Epistle to the Colossians with that to the Ephesians. The author says in his preface: "An attempt is here made to trace the unity

of thought and feeling and even of verbal expression pervading the Epistle to the Colossians and that to the 'Ephesians,' and also to show that the latter is really the Epistle to Laodicea." But what he has actually written is a popular commentary on Colossians. The relation of Colossians to Ephesians is not treated more fully than it would be in any good commentary, nor has the author any fresh light to throw on the question. The most characteristic feature is his full acceptance of Marcion's testimony in regard to Ephesians. He agrees that this epistle was addressed directly to the Laodiceans, and apparently to them only. Great weight has been given to Professor Harris' article in the *Expository Times* of June, 1907, on "Marcion and the Canon." The difficulties of this position are passed by unnoticed.

If Mr. Rutherford's book is to be judged as a scholarly discussion of these problems, his treatment is pitifully meager. And certainly no scholar today can be excused for ignoring the work done in other lands besides his own. If, however, these introductory chapters be regarded as a restatement in untechnical language of the conclusions reached by prominent English New Testament students, a more favorable verdict can be given. But such an intention on the author's part seems to be excluded by the considerable critical apparatus which follows. Old Testament quotations, hapaxlegomena, Greek words common to both epistles, each receive a page. The whole Greek text of Colossians is given with the parallel passages of Ephesians. The English translation of Colossians is printed twice, once with the parallel passages of Ephesians and then by itself. Again the reader is led to expect a thorough, critical comparison of the two epistles. But he will look for it in vain. Instead, the last third of the book is given to popular notes on the English text of Colossians. These notes follow Bishop Lightfoot's excellent commentary very closely. The principal effort seems to have been to remove the more technical features and to simplify.

In this book, Mr. Rutherford has raised expectations which are nowhere realized, and spoiled a fair, popular commentary by the insertion of much unnecessary critical material.

GEORGE D. CASTOR

BERKELEY, CAL.

The Sayings of Jesus: The Second Source of St. Matthew and St. Luke. By ADOLF HARNACK. Translated by J. R. WILKINSON. New York: Putnam; London: Williams & Norgate, 1908. Pp. xvi + 316. \$1.50.

Modern gospel criticism generally recognizes the validity of the two-document hypothesis, which regards Mark and a non-extant collection of

Jesus' sayings as the principal literary sources of our First and Third Gospels. Within recent years several attempts have been made to extract this lost source from our Matthew and Luke. Wernle, Wellhausen, Harnack, and B. Weiss have made valuable contributions to the problem, but Harnack's work, which is one of the latest of these efforts, is the only one which has been translated into English. He conducts his investigation with his characteristic thoroughness in matters of detail, and by a minute examination of the non-Markan material he obtains data by which he believes he is able to determine the essential characteristics of this missing document (called Q). It is found to have been essentially a collection of discourses with comparatively little biographical narrative, whose order is preserved more faithfully in Matthew than in Luke. It began with an account of John's preaching and closed without referring to Jesus' Passion. It is the oldest element in the gospel narrative and was originally composed in Aramaic, probably by the apostle Matthew. It and Mark were in the main written independently of each other, and where they agree one may confidently claim historical certainty.

No one interested in the synoptic problem should fail to read Harnack's book with care.

SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

New Literature

The most important books listed in these columns will receive notice in the book-review pages.

OLD TESTAMENT

BOOKS

KENT, C. F. *The Kings and Prophets of Israel and Judah from the Division of the Kingdom to the Babylonian Exile.* [The Historical Bible.] New York: Scribners, 1909. Pp. xv+323.

This third volume of the *Historical Bible* covers that period in Old Testament history that is richest in literary and spiritual achievements. It can be unreservedly recommended to the teacher and student who are willing to do a little actual work in order to secure a just appreciation of the Old Testament.

DRIVER S. R. *Modern Research as Illustrating the Bible.* [The Schweich Lectures, 1908.] London: Henry Frowde, 1909. Pp. viii+95. 3s.

The first lecture delivered before the British Academy on a foundation established in 1907 by Mr. Leopold Schweich, of Paris. It is a careful and brief summary of the contribution of archaeology and exploration to the understanding of the Bible. Many illustrations add to the attractiveness of the volume.

BROOKE, A. E., AND MCLEAN, N. *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Text of Codex Vaticanus, Supplemented from Other Uncial Manuscripts, with a Critical Apparatus Containing the Variants of the Chief Ancient Authorities for the Text of the Septuagint.* Vol. I, Part II: Exodus and Leviticus. Cambridge: The University Press, 1909. Pp. viii+251. 12s. 6d.

The appearance of each new portion of this great work is hailed with joy by all students of the text of the Old Testament, for whose work it is bound to be indispensable.

HIRSCHY, N. C. *Artaxerxes III (Ochus) and His Reign, with Special Consideration of the Old Testament Sources Bearing upon the Period.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1909. Pp. v+85. \$0.75.

A careful compilation of all the known facts concerning the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus, together with a critical examination of the Old Testament passages assigned to this period by various scholars. The work constituted a Doctor's dissertation at the University of Berne.

COURTNEY, W. L. *The Literary Man's Bible. A Selection of Passages from the Old Testament, Historic, Poetic, and Philosophic, Illustrating Hebrew Literature.* New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1909. Pp. xii+414. \$1.25.

The fact that this book is now in its fourth edition shows that it has proved its value to many readers. The passages selected are printed in the King James Version and are provided with brief annotations. The standpoint of the interpretation is that of the modern school of Bible-study.

GIRDLESTONE, R. B. *Old Testament Theology and Modern Ideas.* [The Anglican Church Handbooks.] New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1909. Pp. 128. 40 cents.

LEES, H. C. *The Joy of Bible Study.* [The Anglican Church Handbooks.] New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1909. Pp. viii+127. 40 cents.

These two little handbooks will be found serviceable to many devout minds. They contain many good and helpful things. The point of view is that of the traditionalist.

SULZBERGER, MAYER. Am Ha-Aretz, the Ancient Jewish Parliament. A Chapter in the Constitutional History of Ancient Israel. Philadelphia: J. H. Greenstone. 1909. Pp. 96.

A clever defense of the proposition that the phrase "people of the land" in the Old Testament is a technical term used to designate the highest political assembly, the prototype of the modern parliament.

CASPARI, W. Aufkommen und Krise des israelitischen Königtums unter David. Ursachen, Teilnehmer und Verlauf des Absalom'schen Aufstandes. Berlin: Trowitzsch und Sohn, 1909. Pp. 138. M. 4.50.

A valuable study of the historical conditions out of which the revolt of Absalom arose. The discussion shows sound judgment and keen discrimination in the treatment of ancient narratives.

NEW TESTAMENT

BOOKS

SLACK, S. B. Early Christianity. [Religions Ancient and Modern.] Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1909. Pp. 94.

This is a fresh and interesting sketch of the Christian movement of the first and second centuries, unfortunately distorted by a somewhat unhistorical and superficial method of approach (e.g., p. 31). While decidedly up to date on many matters, Mr. Slack repeats the old error that Aristides addressed his apology to Hadrian (p. 64), and represents that apology as published in Greek in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, IV. As a matter of fact it is extant only in Syriac (except for two Armenian fragments) and no Greek edition of it is or has been possible. The Syriac shows conclusively that it was presented to Antoninus Pius. The book is liable to similar criticism on other grounds, but mainly for its failure to do justice to the historical character of early Christianity, the central point of which Mr. Slack has wholly missed. It is to be hoped that the other faiths included in this series will be treated with more fairness and insight.

WAYLEN, HECTOR. Mountain Pathways. A Study in the Ethics of the Sermon on the Mount. Together with a Revised Translation and Critical Notes. With an Introduction by F. C. BURKITT. London: Sherratt and Hughes, 1909. Pp. 95.

This quaint study, concerned partly with learning, partly with edification, presents some helpful illustrations for the interpretation of the great discourse.

PREUSCHEN, ERWIN. Griechisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur. Vierte Lieferung: Ζαβουλών bis κυριακός. Giessen; Töpelmann, 1909. Coll. 481-640. M. 1.80.

The new part of Preuschen's promising dictionary exhibits the conciseness and completeness which have characterized the earlier parts. Preuschen gives preference to some spellings discountenanced, with good reason, by Hort (*Ἱεροσόλυμα*, *Ἀλφάϊος*) and even by Nestle, whom Preuschen professes to follow (*Ἥλίας*). The use of *θριαμβέω* in II Cor. 2:14, as "to make to triumph" is less certain than Preuschen represents. *κεφαλίδω* (Mark 12:4) rendered "to maltreat," is a problematical word, upon which light is really needed. The reference for *Ζώσιμος*, Martyrdom of Polycarp 9:1 (col. 490) is an error; it should be Pol. to the Philippians 9:1. The omission of *θάσσω* (*θάττων*) (col. 502) seems to be an oversight. *Θέγρι* (col. 503) is against all the editors. Preuschen is failing to give readings of Funk and Lightfoot in the Apostolic Fathers the attention he proposed in his preface to give them. The use of the symbols † and * at the end of articles was not explained by Preuschen in his preface, and this leads to some uncertainty. It would seem that † designates *ἀπαξ λεγόμενα* and * articles which give full lists of all the word's occurrences; but if so, the asterisk seems sometimes to have been misapplied.

FINDLAY, GEORGE G. Fellowship in the Life Eternal. An Exposition of the Epistles of St. John. London; Hodder and Stoughton, 1909. Pp. xv+431. \$2.50.

Dr. Findlay's commentary is of the practical rather than the critical type. The religious meaning of the Johannine epistles is brought out with much learning and insight, and elaborated, in a way likely to be especially helpful to ministerial readers. The three epistles are held to be the work of John the apostle, the second being sent to the church at Pergamum, the third to a member of that church, and the first to the churches of that region, in the last years of the apostle's life. Indeed the Johannine authorship of gospel, epistles and Revelation, is accepted by Dr. Findlay, and with little attention to the serious difficulties attaching to the view.

BIGG, CHARLES. The Origins of Christianity. Edited by T. B. Strong. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909. Pp. viii+518. \$3.00.

In this excellent work, the Christian history and literature of the first three centuries are treated with great learning and breadth of view, being constantly brought into relation with the wider history of the times. The book is thus an introduction both to the history and to the literature of the early church. On some matters Dr. Bigg has not adopted what seems the most critical view, and the later books of the New Testament, those, e. g., of Domitian's time, might well have been included. But the book will be useful, as showing the subsequent literature vividly in its historical setting.



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Editorial

JESUS AND HISTORICAL INQUIRY

It is now generally conceded that Jesus, as the most prominent figure in the history of Christianity, should be studied by the historical method of investigation. Historical inquiry has amply justified itself as a method of scientific research and its broader conclusions are admitted to be valid and valuable. But when it is applied more in detail to specific topics its propriety and worth are sometimes doubted or even openly questioned.

LIMITATIONS OF HISTORICAL INQUIRY

Historical research certainly has its limitations, even in a study of Jesus. To claim that it alone can supply the ultimate certainties of religion would be absurd, for many persons have been truly religious, as that term is popularly and quite properly understood, though they have known nothing of this discipline. Nor is it possible for the great mass of Christians to become experts in this critical work, and if they could it would not especially equip them to meet many of the practical religious demands of the present age. It may be said that to know what Jesus said or did on some obscure occasion is of minor importance compared with an appreciation of his spirit as that spirit is clearly portrayed in the gospels. Again, it is claimed, reliable data for solving many of these questions are so scanty that the results reached must necessarily be hypothetical, a fact which seems to be proved by the mutually contradictory conclusions to which different investigators have sometimes come. Whether minute historical research is capable of performing any further important service for modern Christianity is therefore often gravely doubted, nor is such doubt wholly without foundation.

CONSEQUENCES OF NEGLECTING HISTORICAL STUDY

On the other hand, unfortunate results often follow a neglect of historical studies. There is a prevailing tendency to impute to Jesus one's own subjective ideas, consequently he has been made to play all sorts of rôles. The skeptically inclined have decided that he was not a historical personage but was a mythical creation of primitive religious fancy; or, if he lived at all, comparatively nothing about him can now be known with certainty. Others doubt his Semitic ancestry and find him to have been descended from Aryan stock; he is for others an exponent of Buddhistic doctrine, teaching a self-redemption to be attained by a complete suppression of all desire; others see in him an ideal teacher of pantheism whose God was the universe and nothing more. By some he is leveled down to the position of an Old Testament sage, a plain preacher of righteousness, who after his death was exalted to a position of distinction through the messianic faith of his followers; others have represented him as a neurotic visionary who appropriated to himself current Jewish messianic ideas and faced death in the confidence that he would soon return upon the clouds to vindicate his supernatural claims; by others he is pictured as the ideal social reformer and teacher of genuine anarchistic principles; or again he is found to be a typical ethical theorist and not at all a religious enthusiast; while yet others think him an ideal modern theologian who took special pains in his teaching to furnish future generations with a set of proof-texts to substantiate rigid systems of doctrine. In view of this situation the need of a discriminating, objective historical research cannot fail to be apparent. One may readily sympathize with a well-known modern writer who warmly censures the twentieth century for its arrogance in assuming that "we must wean ourselves from a contemptible dependence upon history in matters of religion."

THE FUNCTION OF HISTORY

It may be very true, as is sometimes urged, that the essential thing in religion is a spiritually enlightened religious consciousness in the individual (as is seen, for example, in Jesus), and it might be theoretically conceivable that such a consciousness should be possessed by one today who knew relatively little about the historical Jesus—one

who was indeed ignorant that such a person ever lived; yet the actual situation in which we find ourselves seems to throw the emphasis farther back. Those who exemplify Jesus' spirit best are seemingly those who have meditated much upon the story of him and his work as that story has been handed down, though somewhat imperfectly, to be sure, by history. The contemplation of the objective, notwithstanding the serious perversion to which it is ever liable, has been and not improbably will continue to be an important means of stimulating and cultivating religious life. Some masterful spirits may be able to reach the heights of religious attainment otherwise, but the majority seem destined to climb by a laborious path. They need to lean hard upon the past for encouragement and support; and not infrequently too they, with their narrower vision, will regard those who have come up some other way as "thieves and robbers." This is life as we find it, though not perhaps as we could wish it to be. In this situation it is not a question of dispensing with history but of enlightening its pages and making it furnish the utmost possible aid.

It should not be imagined that an accurate acquaintance with history is of itself a guarantee of piety, nor that the discovery of the actual historical Jesus will supply a ready-made and normative christological dogma. Primarily piety is a personal attainment in Christian living, and Christology is a speculative interpretation of Jesus' worth for the individual interpreter; but history may be, and as a matter of actual experience is, largely contributory to each of these things. It furnishes, perhaps incidentally, much practical stimulus and help. It frees one from erroneous ideas and so restrains the activity of subjectivism; it broadens one's outlook upon the movements of Jesus' time and so gives a more intelligent and sympathetic appreciation of him and his work. Contemplation of his pious life, and a keener sense of the secret of his personality, stimulate one in the attainment of piety today and make possible a new evaluation of Jesus' personal significance for the believer. Also there are many Christians with whom the intellectual aspects of life hold an important place, and they are particularly desirous that their ideas of Jesus shall be compatible with historic fact. Under these circumstances historical inquiry has both an educative and an inspirational function.

THE POSSIBILITY OF RESULTS

But, it may be urged, all this might be worth while if historical inquiry could do any more for us than it has already done—if it had not already exhausted its possibilities. But who can know that it has? There are surely problems enough still demanding investigation, and only time can disclose what careful critical research may accomplish. In the case of Jesus, for instance, it is at present keenly debated whether or not his religious consciousness was dominated by apocalyptic ideas. Historical study would be guilty of unpardonable negligence did it not bend its energies to the faithful examination of this question. Many other problems of similar significance also invite the historian's attention, and he may not neglect even the minutest items if by their study he can contribute enlightenment and helpfulness to the cause of modern Christianity. Of course he does not claim that all religion must wait upon the results of his research—he would not lord it over any man's faith but he would be a helper of every man's joy.

THE PERMANENT VALUE OF THE BIBLE

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The study of comparative religion has introduced great confusion into our conception of inspiration. Martineau complained that some of the Calvinists, with their finished definitions of God, left us without "the sense of a shoreless sea," and gave us "a port of traffic, with coast-lights instead of stars."¹ There are many in our day who complain that we have nothing left but distant stars and a shoreless sea. They would be glad of a little glimmer on the shore of something, to indicate that their storm-tossed bark was approaching a substantial truth. There is a vagueness about the thought of universal inspiration. If all men are under the tutelage and instruction of the Spirit of God, where do we get our standard of valuation? Granted that the Bible is only one of many inspired books, what will be its ultimate place in our religious devotions and instruction? Is it any longer a source of authority? Indeed, what is authority? The questions press upon us so fast that they leave us dazed and in doubt.

In the first place we must remember that this idea of the universality of inspiration is not an entirely new thought. If we turn to the early apologists, we find that Christianity entered upon her period of expansion in the second century in the spirit of the words, "As certain also of your own poets have said." To Justin Martyr the Stoics, the poets of Greece, the disciples of Plato, and many others all spake under the inspiration of the "Word."² To Clement of Alexandria the great Greeks had "torn off a fragment of eternal truth from the theology of the ever-living word."³ He calls their philosophy "a covenant peculiar to them."⁴ This thought is coming to the front once more. To all who believe in one Spirit, inspiration must be one. The Bible cannot differ from those disclosures of himself which God has made to all spiritual heroes, moral pioneers, benefactors of humanity, defenders of the right, whose sayings and doings we find

¹ *Studies of Christianity*, p. 149.

² *Apology*, ii, 10.

³ *Stromata*, i, 13.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vi, 8.

scattered through all ages and lands. Wherever a noble thought is to be gleaned, wherever a spiritual experience is to be found, wherever our hearts are thrilled by a splendid example of moral triumph, there is a real manifestation of the Spirit of God. In word of wisdom, in heroic precept, in exalted ideal, he comes to us in that unveiling which we call "revelation." We can find him in the *Analects* of Confucius. We can hear his voice speaking to us in the *Koran*. We can see his power in the example of Socrates.

Take the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*. Some of the precepts therein contained are of a very high order.

I have caused pain to no man.

I have suffered no one to hunger.

I have caused no one to weep.

I have gained my possessions by righteous means.

I have not falsified the measure of corn.

I have been a father to the orphan.

I have been a husband to the widow, a shelter to the freezing.

Despite the admixture of many puerile and formal virtues in this list of the soul standing before the judgment-seat of Horus and Anubis, and despite the fact that the catalogue is only the 125th chapter of a very dreary and barren book, the candid reader cannot fail to find here very noble examples of the effort of our humanity to commend itself to God by purity of character, and sincerity of act.

Similar examples could easily be obtained from the Chinese *Tao-ti-king*, from the *Upanishads*, from the *Zend-Avesta*, and from other sacred books. The prayer of Priam at the knees of Achilles, in Homer, is a strong and inspiring appeal. Some of the hymns to Apollo are surpassingly beautiful. The *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles contains passages of moral majesty and power. So we might go on. In the end the only conclusion we could reach would be that with which we began, namely that the Bible does not differ from other sacred books if we start with an abstract conception of inspiration.

Instantly someone asks, "If this is true, why not form a Bible from that which is best in the literature of all lands and ages?" This is a question that has often been asked. The answer to it is very simple and practical. Who shall form such a book? What shall be his principle of selection? The moment we seriously attempt to answer these questions we confront a situation. The man, or the committee,

who gives us the new Bible, must be inspired. Failing to find infallibility in the religious enthusiasm of the past, we try to locate it in the scientific spirit of the present. Either this, or we must dissociate the two ideas of inspiration and infallibility. As a matter of fact every religious teacher is continually forming such a Bible for himself. To the extent of his knowledge, he draws on the inspiration of the ages. Whenever a preacher exalts the devotion of a missionary, quotes a saying of Kant, appeals to the sacrifice of a martyr, or praises the discovery of a scientist, he is using the idea of inspiration in its large and liberal sense. For this no complete and finished textbook can be furnished him. He must make that for himself. As he reads it will be an ever-enlarging Bible, from which he draws his inspiration. If he is a free man, he will resent the intrusion that would brush aside his personality, and turn over to a committee of scientists the selection of his sacred literature.

All this, however, leaves us where we began. The reason for this is that our approach to the problem has been from the abstract end. We have been dealing with a conception of inspiration. Suppose we take up the matter in the concrete. Let us begin with the Bible itself, and not with a theory about it. At once we begin to see light. The fact that the so-called Proverbs of Solomon are to be put in the same category as the maxims of Benjamin Franklin, or that the epistles of Paul are to be regarded as inspired in the same way as the Journal of Amiel, does not reduce them all to an absolute level of moral value and spiritual power. The fact that we believe nothing merely because we find it in the Bible, but because it commands our conscience, revives our hopes, strengthens our resolves, and inspires us to virtuous action, does not lessen its spiritual significance, if it really accomplishes these things. The question is, therefore, whether the Bible is separated from other books by its power to do this. Those timid Christians who fear such a comparison have little trust in the inspired message of their Scriptures.

Professor Max Müller, in editing the sacred books of the East, was compelled to omit portions too shameful to bear publication. No man could print them, he declared, and escape prosecution. There are also gross passages in the Bible. If it were a new book, could we print them? There are barren passages, genealogies and rites, laws

of sacrifice, and descriptions of temple furnishings, that are of no religious value in the present day. All this we may grant, and still a slight comparison with other sacred books will reveal wherein the difference lies. We call the plains of Arabia "a desert," despite the fact that an occasional spring forms an oasis there. We call the state of New Jersey "a cultivated region," despite the fact that there are certain sandy sections where nothing can grow. Are we not a little too finical about speaking of the supreme revelation of the Bible?

Again let us say that other literature is inspired. Who can read the hymns of Ikhnaton, king of Egypt, in praise of the glories of nature, and the God who dwells in his breast, and not feel, despite the fact that he lived thirteen centuries before Christ, that his soul received a true revelation from the Infinite?⁵ Shall we, for this reason, fear a comparison between them and the Psalms? What is there in them, for moral elevation and devotional grandeur, to equal passage after passage, in luxuriance of spiritual beauty, describing a God whose glory "the heavens declare," who made us "a little lower than the divinities," who is "our light and our salvation," who "forgiveth our iniquities," who "pitieth us, as a father pitieth his children?" It is simply that we have to seek the choice passages in other literature, and in the Psalms we have to seek the vindictive and imprecatory passages.

We confuse the whole matter by considering it in the abstract. We ask whether the difference between the revelation in the Bible and that in other books is one of "kind" or "degree," without seeing that under certain circumstances the two are one. The difference between the temperature of Alaska and Brazil is merely a matter of "degree." If we think of their productiveness, however, the two regions differ in "kind." The fact is that such a distinction is utterly illogical, when applied to the Bible, because the two ideas start from totally different premises. If two men argue on inspiration, one starting from the thought of the unity of the Spirit of God, and the other starting from the thought of the religious and moral value of the Bible, the first asserting that the Bible is not different from other books, and the second declaring that it is the only book in the world, they may argue forever, for the reason that both are right.

Our confusion arises from the peculiar nature of moral and spiritual

⁵ See Breasted, *A History of Egypt*, chap. xviii.

values. They are absolute. They are not measured in inches. We do not estimate spiritual gifts as we put a price-tag on a commodity in a shop. Anything that is morally or spiritually higher than another has a finality about it that commands us with the very voice of God. Who can picture the Huguenots, shut up in La Rochelle, deriving their inspiration from the pages of Herodotus? Who can imagine Plutarch's *Morals* lying at the side of one of Cromwell's Ironsides, as he went to sleep on the straw? Who can fancy Seneca's essay on "Benefits" furnishing the inspiration of a "Cotter's Saturday Night"? There is a sublimity that rises to moral majesty in the words of Epictetus on "Freedom," but by no stretch of the imagination can I see that treatise hidden in the cell of those gaunt prisoners who were shut up in the "Tour de Constance." I can understand the spirit in which Dorothea Dix liberated the insane from their chains, and turned the madhouse from a place of torture into a place of healing, but I cannot understand the man who fancies that Plato's *Banquet*, or the ethics of Aristotle, could furnish the inspiration for such an act. Rather do I confess myself, with Huxley, to be greatly perplexed "to know by what means the religious feeling, which is the essential basis of conduct, is to be kept up, in the present utterly chaotic state of opinion, without the use of the Bible."⁶

We here touch the secret of the permanent value of the Bible. "The pagan moralists," says Huxley in the same passage, "lack life and color, and even the noble Stoic, Marcus Aurelius, is too high and refined for an average child." How naïve is such a statement! Did Huxley never consider the difference between the spiritual dynamic contained in examples of moral heroism, and collections of moral precepts? If we consider this we are all children. Even the philosopher, if he stops to consider long enough, will hesitate to use the words, "high and refined," in such a comparison. The fact is that Huxley is here confused by the lack of a standard of valuation. This makes his vision too narrow, despite his efforts at fairness. "Consider," he cries, "the great historical fact that for three centuries this book has been woven into the life of all that is best and noblest in English history." Why English history? Why limit the time to three centuries? When Jesus purified the temple did he not draw his

⁶ *Collected Essays*, III, p. 397.

inspiration from Jeremiah? Whence came the enthusiasm that ministered to the dying, during the great pestilence in Alexandria in the third century? What led Saint Ovidius to emancipate over five thousand slaves? From the pages of the Bible there has come a power that has molded the thought, elevated the ideals, healed the miseries, enlightened the purposes, and transfigured the ambitions of men, through a period of time and over an area of earth that the thoughtful student hesitates to fix.

It is a strange spirit that fears a comparison of this book with other literature. Even the imperfections of its science are couched in terms of beauty, if we consider the age that produced them. Compare the nineteenth psalm, whose sun is like a bridegroom, and whose heavens "declare the glory of God," with the Egyptian conception of a vast cow, standing athwart the sky, whose head is in the west, and whose body covers the land of the Nile. Or turn to Greece. The Bible has lyrics as sweet as those of Pindar, but not in celebration of the victors in athletic games. Their themes touch problems of spiritual darkness and moral conquest. Is any oration by Demosthenes superior to the reported address of Paul on Mars Hill? What passage in Plutarch's *Lives* is as inspiring as the eleventh chapter of Hebrews? What lines of Aeschylus can compare, for ethical power and spiritual elevation, with the hymn to Love in the thirteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians? The question is not one of form, but of content. The literature of Greece, despite its artistic beauty, is mostly local, particular, entangled in trivial subjects, lacking in spiritual power, limited to passing events. The literature of the Bible, despite its many imperfections, is general, suffused with moral passion, filled with a universal interest, governed by ideals of righteousness, inspired by the purposes of God.

We do not need a doctrine of "inspiration" to establish this fact. The fact gives rise to the doctrine. The latter may change, but the former belongs to the eternal. There was a tradition that the bees of Hymettus settled on the lips of the child Plato, while he slept. To deny this tradition does not remove all power and charm from the pages of the *Republic*. Why do we imagine that the superiority of the Bible is the outcome of a theory of inspiration? Why do we allow ourselves to fear, or to hope, that the departure of a mythical con-

ception of its origin will remove it from its majestic position in human affairs and purposes? It has gained that place, not by a theory, but by its own inherent value. It has been the dynamic of projects of philanthropy. It has been the sword of the spirit, in battles of purity. It has turned the prison cell into a place of triumph. Its words are woven into our ceremonies of marriage, and are heard at the last sad rites of our dead. It has created the dreams of the reformer. It has roused men to great movements of liberty by its clarion call. Like a light in the darkness, its words have been the hope of many a wanderer in the night of sin. A new theory of its origin no more affects these things than the doctrine of evolution interferes with the processes of the sun.

The commanding authority of the Bible rests entirely in its moral and devotional influence. This influence is often unconsciously recognized by the very men who have freed themselves most completely from the old idea of its inspiration. A recent biographer of Matthew Arnold says that in reading this writer we come to look inevitably for the appropriate biblical passage. "It figures alike in theological discourse and political tractate, in critical essay and school report, and not unseldom he relied upon an attractive text to cover the deficiencies of an argument that otherwise might have failed to impress."⁷ That Matthew Arnold inherited this tendency to misuse the Bible no one can doubt, but the fact itself is significant. As an aid in a campaign of righteousness its place cannot be supplied. It teaches the ultimate ruin of all moral impurity with the grandeur of Aeschylus, but without the dark view of destiny that overshadows the lines of the latter. Said Garibaldi, "The best of all allies you can procure for us is the Bible." Who can picture its influence? It has been the torch of the human conscience through the darkness of temptation. It has been the bread of the human soul when faint with grief and doubt.

Strange is the situation that confronts us! There was a people in olden times who lived in the miraculous. They evoked the dead, listened to the sound of the wind in the foliage of the trees, and heard the voice of God in the echoes of the thunder. Amid all this they grasped certain great principles concerning theft, false witness, covet-

⁷ Dawson, *Matthew Arnold*, p. 33.

ousness, murder, and adultery. They believed that the affairs of earth were working out principles of righteousness. They believed there was coming a great kingdom of purity and love. Nearly two millennia later there came another race. They looked back, and saw in the dreams of the earlier people a poetic and childlike interpretation of natural phenomena. When they made this discovery they began to lose confidence in the permanence of the moral and spiritual values of the earlier people, in the sanctity of life, in the virtue of truthfulness, in the beauty of personal purity, in the persistence of principles of right, in the coming of a kingdom of God. Is this the situation? Have we grown so wise that we cannot go back and sit at the feet of the children and learn these eternal lessons? To be sure the children believed that God wrote some of these things, with his own finger, on a slab of stone. Stories of peals of thunder, echoing around a mountain, helped to convince them that the commands were divine. If we, the grown-up race, look upon these things as mere mythology, as a husk of superstition, does that mean that we have outgrown the moral background of it all? It would be a strange conclusion that led us to lose all reverence for the unfailing spiritual truthfulness of the commands themselves. It would be an astounding manifestation of wisdom, of the superiority of our knowledge, if we flung away the grain with the husk.

This leads us to the question of biblical "mythology." The word "myth" is a great temptation to the subtle Pharisaism that resides in the scientific spirit. A myth is a "wonder story." It generally embodies some spiritual ideal. This is what constitutes its attractiveness to children. It is excellent moral exercise, even for those wise people who have learned to distinguish between fact and fancy, to go back in imagination with the children, and walk the earth with heroic forms and godlike men. Amid the stress of life, challenged by its confusing problems, perplexed by its cross purposes, happy is the man who can find ideal companionship. The casuist, to whom conduct is a set of discrete acts, of piecemeal performances, of fragmentary duties, will ever be baffled by the Bible, especially if he knows that its stories are "myths." The man who is looking for a retreat, for a sacred place whose atmosphere throbs with purposes of righteousness, for a mount of unveiling that makes more clear the ideals of

gentleness and the hopes of purity, will find that its pages bring him into the very presence of God.

We have been misled by the discovery that the Bible is not the source of religion, but the particular product of the religion of a certain time and place. We have become confused by the thought that it is just a collection of literary monuments, the classic documents of a race whose genius was peculiarly religious. What of that? Do we owe no respect and devotion to an age of unusual enlightenment and splendid achievement? He who would study music will acquaint himself with the works of Bach, Mendelssohn, Schumann, and Wagner. He cultivates his talent with the aid of these men. He is inspired by their themes, urged on by their genius, cheered by their triumphs. Even so the man who would advance in righteousness, or cultivate his sense of God, will seek the aid of Amos, Hosea, Jesus, and Paul. The moral fortitude of the great men of the Bible, the cry of penitence heard in the Psalms, the sublime ideal of the Sermon on the Mount, and all the pleadings for justice and heroic endeavors to be found in patriarchial story or apostolic mission, will be eagerly sought by him as an aid and inspiration to his faith.

Suppose an artist were to object to the reverence paid to Phidias and Michael Angelo, to Praxiteles and Titian. Suppose he were to say that art did not come to an end with these men, that it did not even reach a climax in their productions. Suppose he were to advance the doctrine that art involves an ideal that is progressive and unending, and that other men, in more modern times, were the ones we should call "the Masters." Would we deny this assertion? Perhaps not, but we would look upon the man as a little bizarre. We would have far more respect for the attitude of mind displayed by the great artist, who said to the writer of this article, while crossing from Alexandria to the Piræus, "I am returning to New York by way of the Parthenon."

Bernard Shaw was accused of saying that he could write better plays than Shakspeare. He replied that this was not his claim. What he said was that he had already written better plays than Shakspeare. The smile called forth by this declaration is sufficient answer. This smile is not due to a denial of the right of Mr. Shaw to produce such plays. It merely means that his judgment is one that belongs to some future century. We have decided that Shakspeare was greater

than Marlowe. We have not decided that Luther was greater than Isaiah, or Hugh Latimer than Paul. Such valuations can be left to time. In the abstract we do not deny the possibility of a better book than the Bible as an aid to devotion and an inspiration to righteousness. We merely insist that such judgments belong to the religious consciousness of the ages. Here is the problem of the permanent value of the Bible in its simplest form. Mr. Shaw ran counter to a reverence that some men would call "bibliolatry," if it were displayed toward the Bible. It was not, however, Shakspearean idolatry, but merely an inherent conviction that literary values will take care of themselves. We can believe that the Bible represents only the best literature of the time of its production, and still maintain our reverence for it, and wait for the superior to come. Moral convictions and spiritual ideals can keep their feet in the press and strife of human thought and activity. It is not necessary to deny the possibility of some future revelation, superior to the "ethical monism" of Isaiah and Jeremiah. A better attitude is to ask for it, with eager and open mind, and receive it gladly when it comes.

This brings us to the supreme reason for our belief in the permanent value of the Bible. It is founded on a further conclusion from what we have called the "absolute" nature of moral values. If the choice in an ethical alternative is between the best and the worst, then a life that follows the devious paths of human experience, without a moral lapse, can be called "final." Such a life is found in the Bible. Whether the character of Christ is the product of myth or history, or both combined, it is there. The authority of the Bible is nothing but the authority of his life. The whole book is interpreted, consciously or unconsciously, in the light of his person. This fact saves it from those imperfections, those provincialisms, those instances of local and limited goodness, which we find in other literature. No one can deny the necessity, which Plato discovered, of making goodness and righteousness concrete in a character. We have only to follow this thing historically to see the value of the Bible. The examples of the great men of the Roman republic were long used to strengthen virtue, to prompt to sacrifice, to elevate morals, to preserve patriotism. Their value, however, was chiefly national. In the Hebrew prophets we find an approach to universality. Their mono-

theism led them to the verge of an ideal as large as the human race. This expansion took place in Christianity. It was founded on the person of Christ. In him men found a completeness, a fulness of spiritual achievement, that was a finality, and so they called him "God."

Here is the value of the Bible. There are other books that drag the mask from our shams, that flay our pride, that shatter our false serenity, that uncover our idle deceits, as effectually as does the Bible. Satirists, in every age, there have been, who have flung the flashlight of scorn into the very depths of the human soul. But when this searching of conscience comes there is ever a cry for a Redeemer. Where can the sting of guilt be removed? Is there a balm anywhere for the wounds of sin? The ability to answer this question will determine the spiritual value of a book. The man who forgets this fact, or, worse still, who is ignorant of it, is unfit to form a theory of the Bible. When there comes to earth a character who solves these problems better than does Jesus, the Bible will be supplanted. Men need something more than a consciousness of their spiritual poverty. Tortured by visions of their weakness, driven to desperation by some Nemesis of wrong, they seek help, they long for the uplifting power of sympathy, they search for an ideal that shall serve as an ally in the moral conflict. This has ever been the mission of Christ. In his presence the shame of sin is conquered, the confusion of guilt vanishes, and the light of eternal goodness begins to break through the cloud.

This fact enabled Luther to arrive at something which he called a "true touchstone," in the interpretation of the Bible. "Christ is the Master," he said, "the Scriptures are the servant." Here is the secret. No revelation will adapt itself, with endless elasticity, to the altering circumstances of life, save one which embodies itself in a character that is a type of humanity, and in this sense a symbol of God. Such a character will not only force us into self-examination and humble our arrogant conceits, but will lift our vision to ideals of courage and devotion. This is just what Paul found in Christ. One who studies his epistles will find that he has no body of Christian tradition to which he appeals in unforeseen difficulties and perplexing problems. He makes no use of the words of Christ as a ground of

authority. It is the spirit of Christ that is his guide. The fact that there is such a spirit, definite, clear, inspiring, divine, and the fact that this spirit will remain whatever may be the conclusion of criticism as to the historical nature of the gospel records, is what constitutes the permanent value of the Bible.

Until a better idea of God is found than that furnished us by Christ, the Bible will remain pre-eminently "the Book." The use of the word in the singular will be justified by Luther's principle of interpretation. Each reader, in the light of the spirit of Jesus, will choose and set aside. Maxims of conduct, poems of passion, records of kings, reflections of sages, hymns of hope, flashes of spiritual biography, pastorals of oriental life, pleadings for social justice, rapt visions of a heavenly city, will all take their place before "the judgment-seat of Christ." If the reader chances, as he may, to find on its pages examples of slave morals, or sated sensuality, of crafty prudence, of bloodthirsty cruelty, of spiritual despair, he will be able rightly to estimate these things. In this way the Bible will be able to hold religion to a spiritual ideal, independent of forms and organizations, and so allow it to renew itself perpetually, unentangled in the changing factors and incidents that are the mere vehicles of progress. Amid all the maze of passing events it will keep its own peculiar character, never losing itself in the partial, and ever driving on toward "the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ." This will save it from those vagaries and frenzied fancies, that have ever been the ruin of every movement that has put its trust solely in direct spiritual communications. Wild schools of the prophets and mad Montanists receive a check in the presence of the sane and ethical ideal of the Christ. And yet it cannot be said that this view makes the Christian ground of authority purely objective. The unifying principle, found in the spirit of Jesus, is distinctively a subjective power. His authority consists in his ability to communicate to men a moral contagion, and to inspire them to that divine life which is in himself. He presents to them the priceless verities of God in realized form, and carries on the work of spiritual regeneration in their souls.

THE REVELATION OF JOHN

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The question propounded at the beginning of my first paper was practically answered in the course of it. The Revelation of John must be interpreted in like manner as the Jewish apocalypses, i.e., as referring to the end of the world as the Jews and early Christians conceived it. It is utterly preposterous to find here a veiled description of past or present events. It can be as little interpreted in this fashion as any of the Jewish apocalypses. Moreover my first paper demonstrated that much of the material incorporated into the Revelation of John was derived from tradition. The remainder of the book, except the second and the third chapters, in general had the same origin. Some of these traditions must have received their present form in Judaism and probably had even been committed to writing prior to their insertion in the Revelation of John. Also, the form in which the author of this book asserts that he received his information regarding the future is similar to that of the Jewish apocalypses; he insists upon having had visions. But in some cases at least he is employing figurative language loosely; for he could not have seen, not even in a vision, what he claims to have seen. For example, in the very first chapter we read of one like unto a son of man, who had in his right hand seven stars and out of whose mouth proceeded a sharp two-edged sword, but who nevertheless laid his right hand upon the seer and spoke to him. How this was possible the writer does not explain; hence he surely has not seen, but only invented this vision. There are, however, three points in which the Revelation of John differs from the Jewish apocalypses.

1. There are no such *vaticinia ex eventu* in it as in all of these; the whole book refers to the end of the world. This indicates that it probably was not attributed to a man of the past. In fact, such an assumption is excluded by some remarks in the first and last chapters. To Daniel Gabriel says: "Seal thou up the vision, for it belongeth

to many days to come." Enoch is said to have prophesied "not for this generation but for the remote generations which are for to come," and similar passages are found in the Assumption of Moses and in the Apocalypse of Ezra; but John is commanded by the angel "not to seal up the words of the prophecy of this book, for the time is at hand." Consequently the Revelation of John cannot be pseudonymous, since, if it was ascribed to another man subsequently to his death, the author would be guilty of absurdly representing it as a postmortem composition; and if, on the other hand, it was attributed to another who was still living, he could have repudiated it. Therefore the Revelation of John must have been written by a John; but whether this John was the apostle, the elder, or another of this name, is a question that cannot be determined here.

2. The apocalyptic John evinces much more culture and even naturalness in his description of the future than the other apocalyp-
tists. It is true, the first vision cannot be fathomed; the plagues that are to precede the end, especially the locusts and the horses in chap. 9, and the beasts in chaps. 11, 12, 13, and 17, are depicted in a very fantastic vein; it is hard to imagine how the heavenly Jerusalem, a colossal cube, of twelve thousand furlongs, i. e., 1,500 miles long, broad, and high, could have a wall only a hundred and forty-four cubits, i. e., 216 feet high; but all this fades into insignificance compared with the oddities and absurdities in the later Jewish apocalypses. The Book of Enoch represents in that long-drawn-out vision in chaps. 85-90 all personages in the history of the Jewish people as animals: Adam is a white bull, Eve a heifer, Cain and Abel a young black and red bull, etc. Or think of that unnatural parable in the Apocalypse of Baruch, chap. 36: "A forest was planted on the plain, and over against it arose a vine and from under it there went forth a fountain peacefully. Now that fountain came to the forest and prevailed greatly, so that it left nothing of that great forest save one cedar only. Then that vine began to come with the fountain in peace and great tranquility, and it came to a place which was not far from the cedar. And lo! that vine opened its mouth and spoke and said to that cedar: 'Art thou not that cedar which was left of the forest of wickedness, and by whose means wickedness persisted? But now thy time is sped and thy hour is come.' And after these things I saw that cedar

burning, and the vine growing, itself and all around it, the plain full of unfading flowers." How grand and imposing, how lofty and sublime is everything in the Revelation of John compared with these marvelous allegories and parables!

3. A last point in which our apocalypse differs from those of the Jews is closely connected with the preceding. The Jewish apocalypses consist of a number of visions more or less arbitrarily combined, and referring in part to the same subject; the author of the Christian apocalypse has composed from the apocalyptic material transmitted to him a complete drama in which each scene has its proper place and in which the events follow each other as they are expected to do in the future. He proves an artist not only in the delineation of the details, but also in the arrangement and setting of the whole.

Revelation begins with the vision already alluded to: John declares that he saw one like unto a son of man, i. e., the Messiah or Christ, in the midst of seven golden candlesticks, having in his right hand seven stars. The stars and the candlesticks originally signify the seven planets known to and venerated by the ancient Babylonians, i. e., the sun, the moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn. When the Jews became acquainted with the Babylonians they tried to prove the superiority of their own religion by explaining these planets as candlesticks standing before their God or Messiah, or as stars in his hand. The author of the Revelation of John, of course, no longer knew this original significance of the candlesticks and the stars, he had only heard the Messiah thus described; so he interpreted the candlesticks and the stars as seven churches, and their guardian angels, for which the revelations allotted to him were intended. He begins therefore by writing to them seven letters which are, in general, at least capable of interpretation, and therefore need not be explained more at length.

This prelude is followed by another, which is still more imposing. The seer sees one like a jasper stone and a sardius, i. e., God, sitting upon a throne and round about it twenty-four elders, and in the midst of it four living creatures, the first like a lion, the second like a calf, the third with a face as of a man, the fourth like a flying eagle. To judge from their description these elders must be angels and, being placed before God's throne just as all seven spirits previously men-

tioned, they must be interpreted as stars too. Indeed, we learn from Diodorus that in addition to the zodiac the Babylonians venerated twenty-four other stars which they called rulers of the world. The four living creatures, on the other hand, that appear also in the first vision of the prophet Ezekiel, seem to be identical with the main signs of the zodiac which, as we saw a moment ago, were worshipped by the Babylonians, though they to some extent termed them otherwise. But Lion and Taurus were called by these very names and are ninety degrees distant from each other; so they may be assumed as indeed meant by this Jewish tradition. The third creature, it is true, cannot be Aquarius, who is again ninety degrees distant from Taurus; for this sign of the zodiac was not called Aquarius by the Babylonians, but water-cask; nevertheless they represented Scorpio, which is opposite to Taurus, as a man with a scorpion's tail; consequently we may recognize the creature having a face as of a man in this sign of the zodiac. Finally, the fourth creature, like a flying eagle, is probably not to be identified with the sign of the zodiac now bearing the same name; for we do not know whether it was thus called by the Babylonians and at any rate it is not opposite to the Lion. Here we find Pegasus, the winged horse, which seems to have been known to the Babylonians, too. Therefore we may refer the eagle to it. To be sure, Pegasus is not in the zodiac, but that does not matter; it is quite probable that the less conspicuous signs of the zodiac were named only later and that the corresponding parts of the ecliptic were previously designated by constellations lying north or south of it. It is true, thus far, we cannot prove that these four constellations, Lion, Taurus, Scorpio, and Pegasus were especially venerated by the Babylonians; but bearing in mind that they venerated the signs of the zodiac, and recalling that all these four constellations contain one star of the first magnitude, it seems very natural that they should have marked them out in such a way. As the seven stars and the twenty-four stars they must have been subordinated to the true God by placing them in the midst of and round about his throne. Of course the author of Revelation no longer knew the original significance of all these numbers; he had only heard that God's throne in heaven was surrounded by four living creatures and twenty-four elders.

In the next chapter John sees on the right hand of him that sits on the throne a book written within and on the back, close sealed with seven seals. Now in the first century after Christ everybody knew that a book sealed with seven seals was a testament—just as in our fathers' days everybody knew that a letter with five seals was a money letter. Moreover, a book sealed with seven seals must in the hand of God, of course, symbolize his testament, his last will for the end of the world. Thus we understand the expectation of the author: the Lion that is of the tribe of Judah, the root of David, the Lamb that has been slain, is to open the book and the seven seals thereof, i. e., the reappearing Christ will fulfil what God has determined for the last days. Since, however, different events will happen then according to tradition, John imagines that the opening of each seal results in one of these events. In this way the first act of the eschatological drama is introduced.

The first four events that occur with the opening of the seals are also depicted in the symbolism of the four riders, one on a white, the second on a red, the third on a black, the fourth on a pale horse. These horses must also have been handed down to John by tradition, otherwise he would hardly have introduced them here, where he had previously used another figure. Indeed the prophet Zechariah has referred to these horses; but whereas he represents the four winds by them, the author of the Revelation of John, who no longer knew their original significance, makes them usher in the four plagues that are to precede the end; conquest, war, famine, death. That the third rider is not allowed to hurt the oil and the wine and that the last one has authority only over the fourth part of the earth is assumed because later on other grievances are announced for which, so to speak, provision had to be made. The interpretation of this verse recently given by Mr. Reinash and Professor Harnack, who were of course followed by other scholars, must be abandoned.

The opening of the fifth seal does not result in other calamities. The author now sees underneath the (heavenly) altar the souls of them that had been slain for the word of God and for the testimony which they held; and they cry with a great voice, saying, "How long, O Master, the holy, and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth? And there was given them,

to each one, a white robe; and it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little time, until their fellow-servants also and their brethren, who should be killed even as they were, should be fulfilled." A very similar scene is depicted in the Apocalypse of Ezra; so here again John is dependent on tradition. He makes use of this trait here because he was under obligation to interpret no less than seven seals, and because his well of vexations that were to precede the end was running dry.

The opening of the sixth seal however is explained in the same manner as that of the first four; a great earthquake takes place, the sun becomes black, the moon as blood, the stars fall unto the earth, the heaven is removed as a scroll when it is rolled up, and every mountain and island are removed out of their places. And the kings of the earth and every bondman and freeman say to the mountains and to the rocks: "Fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb; for the great day of their wrath is come, and who is able to stand?"

This question is answered in the next chapter where angels seal a hundred and forty and four thousand who shall be preserved from the coming calamities. Out of every tribe of the children of Israel twelve thousand are sealed: This shows that the tradition must originally have been a Jewish one. Whom the author means by these hundred and forty and four thousand we shall presently see. He introduces them here partly, as I have just said, to answer the question at the end of the preceding chapter, partly because he had there also spoken of seals.

Here he adds to the hundred and forty and four thousand another great multitude, arrayed in white robes, and with palms in their hands, which shall stand before the throne and before the Lamb. This multitude is the host of martyrs, who are introduced here, partly because martyrs had been mentioned in the preceding chapter, partly in contrast to the hundred and forty and four thousand who shall be preserved from the approaching calamities.

And now, after this double intermezzo, the seventh seal is opened but it does not issue in the end, as one ought to expect after that saying of the kings of the earth: the great day of the wrath is come; there is only a silence in heaven about the space of half an hour. The author

has still a great many other traditions to communicate; so he only pauses a little while before beginning the description of the second act of the eschatological drama.

He asserts that he has seen the seven angels that stand before God, with seven trumpets in their hands. As these angels suddenly appear, others having been mentioned in the foregoing description of God's surroundings in heaven, they must have been loaned by another tradition; and in fact the plagues they produce are partly the same as those which arrived by the opening of the seven seals and originally they cannot have been expected after these. Or, how shall only the *third* part of the sun, the moon, and the stars be darkened after (by the opening of the sixth seal) the *whole* sun had become black, the moon as blood, and the stars of the heaven had fallen unto the earth? That even here only the *third* part of the sun, the moon, and stars shall be smitten, the third part of the earth and of the trees shall be burnt up, the third part of the sea and of the waters shall become blood or wormwood, may be explained in the same manner as the corresponding restriction of the plague after the opening of the third seal; there are still other calamities to be announced for which provision is here made. The seven angels that stand before God as the seven candlesticks and the seven stars previously mentioned were originally the planets known to and venerated by the Babylonians; that their sounding is to usher in the events preceding the end is an idea which we meet in other places of the New Testament too and which was readily suggested as with the soldier a signal results in a movement; so it was quite natural to expect that the final events would be produced by the trumpets of angels.

After the first four of these plagues have been described the author sees and hears an eagle flying in mid-heaven saying with a great voice: "Woe, woe, woe for them that dwell on the earth by reason of the other voices of the trumpet of the three angels who are yet to sound." These three woes that precede the end were derived from a tradition older than that of the sounding angels and have been interwoven with it, as the expectation of the four apocalyptic riders with the tradition of the book with seven seals.

The first woe consists of locusts which were expected before the end, probably in analogy to the plague said to have befallen the

Egyptians, but here they are described as from the abyss, as having tails like unto scorpions, and stings; and as ruled by the angel of the abyss—in short as hellish, diabolical locusts. In a similar way the armies of horsemen that come forth from the great river Euphrates at the sounding of the sixth angel and form the second woe are depicted as having breastplates as of fire and of hyacinth and of brimstone; and the heads of the horses are as the heads of lions, and out of their mouths proceed fire and smoke and brimstone; the power of the horses is in their mouth, and in their tails; for their tails are like unto serpents, and have heads, and with them do they hurt.

When we read after this description of the first two woes that the rest of mankind, which were not killed by these plagues, repented not of the works of their hands we expect of course that now the final judgment will be announced. But as in the first act so in the second, a twofold intermezzo is inserted.

John affirms that he has seen an angel having in his hand a little book and crying with a great voice like a lion roareth; and when he cried, the seven thunders uttered their voices. But John is not allowed to record what the seven thunders uttered, which may lead us to infer it to be nearly the same as what the opening of the seven seals and the sounding of the seven angels signify, i. e., plagues that are to precede the end. As they were too similar to these other plagues, the author could not resolve to announce this new series of calamities, nor did he wish to leave it entirely unconsidered; hence he used this as a *deus ex machina*. The angel directs him to eat the little book, and then to prophesy again over many peoples and nations and tongues and kings; it may therefore be supposed to contain these prophecies, or, to put it differently, these prophecies were probably derived by the author from a written source.

Indeed, when in chap. 11 he is commanded to measure the temple of God (but not the court which is outside the temple, "for it hath been given unto the nations"), when the temple therefore is expected to be spared, it is clear that this could only be announced *before* its destruction in A. D. 70. Now the Revelation as a whole was written not earlier than under Domitian; so its author has here made use of an older tradition that must have been so fixed that he did not venture to alter it, i. e., a tradition which probably had been committed to

writing. He inserted it in his book without troubling himself about its contradicting history, for it narrates another expectation that could still be fulfilled, i. e., the expectation of two witnesses who were to prophesy a thousand two hundred and threescore days. From their description, as having the power to shut the heaven, and over the waters to turn them into blood, and to smite the earth with every plague, it follows that Moses and Elijah are meant, who were believed to have been carried up to heaven without passing through death and who therefore, according to Jewish and Christian tradition, were to reappear before the coming of the Lord. Why they should prophesy a thousand two hundred and threescore days we cannot yet explain; that they should be killed and rise again is probably expected in analogy to the death and resurrection of Christ. What is meant by the beast that is to overcome them we shall see at once; the whole tradition is probably inserted *here* because the coming of the beast itself was to be announced in the very next chapters.

Now we ought to expect the announcement of the third woe or, as I said before, of the last judgment; but if the author had depicted it *here* he could not have made use of the other traditions he was acquainted with and desired to use. So he only inserted a description of the impression the last judgment will make in heaven, he let the celestial temple of God be opened and the ark of his covenant appear, as if he wished to say: The end is near at hand; ere long God will go forth from his dwelling; be therefore patient and hear quickly what is still to happen.

Thereupon the third act of the eschatological drama begins with the appearance of a woman arrayed with the sun and the moon under her feet and upon her head a crown of twelve stars. She is delivered of a son, a man child, who is to rule all the nations with a rod of iron, i. e., of the Messiah. But how could a *Christian* author have announced the *birth* of the Messiah, who according to his belief had appeared in Jesus? Here too the author must have inserted a *Jewish* tradition, but even by this theory the vision is not yet explained. On the contrary, the description of the woman just given shows that by her a heathen goddess was originally meant, just as the dragon with seven heads and ten horns that attempts to devour the child is of pagan origin. Nay, as it was to be traced back to Babylonia, and as

according to Martiannes Capella, the Assyrian Juno wore a crown of twelve jewels which designated the signs of the zodiac, it seems the most natural explanation that the whole tradition had the same origin, though thus far we know of it only in Egypt and Greece. Certainly, in conformity with such a myth, the birth of the Messiah was depicted by a Jew, and finally it was used to describe the last generally expected fight of the devil against the Christians.

For the same purpose in the next chapter two beasts are introduced. Originally they had formed one, the monster that according to a pagan myth adopted by the Israelites had been defeated by the deity in the beginning and will be defeated again at the end of the world. Our author interprets the first beast, to which authority is given over every tribe and people and tongue and nation, as the Roman empire, the second one, that maketh the earth and them that dwell therein to worship the first beast, as the priests or supporters of the veneration of the emperor—later on it is called the false prophet. It is therefore the termination of their reign we expect to hear of in the following.

But then another body of traditions known to the author would have been pigeon-holed; hence he only lets the hundred and forty and four thousand, that are here, in accordance with the ascetic tendency of the age, interpreted as virgins, sing a hymn, three angels announce the judgment, and one like a son of man and another angel prepare it. Then we again expect to hear of the end; and again it is postponed. Seven other plagues are foretold, represented by angels pouring out their bowls of the wrath of God into the earth. This is an especially daring metaphor: the bowls that otherwise are delivered of their contents to *soften* God's wrath are here *filled up* with it and poured out to bring about catastrophes. These have such a resemblance to the former ones that they can only be derived from a different tradition. The last one contains already the fall of Rome, which is more fully described in the next chapters.

One of the seven angels with the seven bowls shows to the seer a woman arrayed in purple and scarlet and sitting upon a scarlet-colored beast, which has seven heads and ten horns. Apparently this beast is originally identical with the other beasts already mentioned; but in some circles it must not have been considered an appropriate representation of the last enemy and was therefore supplemented by a

woman sitting upon the beast and arrayed in the same colors. This woman was then interpreted as Babylon and so called even in the Revelation of John where in reality Rome is meant. That is clear from the description of the woman as drunken with the blood of the saints and of the martyrs of Jesus, i. e., the victims of the Neronian persecution, and especially from the interpretation of the seven heads of the beast as seven mountains on which the woman sitteth, i. e., the seven hills of Rome. Her downfall is only indicated, but the impression it will make in heaven and on earth is depicted very completely and graphically: the angels and the blessed will rejoice in it, the kings, the merchants, the shipmasters, and mariners will deplore it. There are no chapters in Revelation and very few in the remainder of the New Testament which are grander and more beautiful than this.

In the fourth act, if we may so term it, Christ appears with the heavenly armies and defeats the beast and the false prophet. Also the dragon is bound, but only for a thousand years, during which the martyrs reign with Christ. At the end of the thousand years the dragon or the devil is loosed out of his prison, he then gathers round himself all the nations from the four corners of the earth, and especially Gog and Magog, to begin war, but fire comes down from heaven and devours them. "And the devil that deceived them was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where are also the beast and the false prophet; and they shall be tormented day and night forever and ever." We are not told who does all this. God is too transcendent for it, and so also the last judgment is described in the same passive form. The earth and the heaven flee away, the dead stand before the throne of God, the books are opened, a new heaven and a new earth appear, the new Jerusalem comes down from heaven, and there is no more death nor mourning nor crying nor pain; for the first things are passed away. Only the final or eternal happiness that awaits the faithful is described at greater length. The fourth act of the eschatological drama composed by the author of Revelation is the shortest as the third was the longest.

The main interest of John is the attack of the Roman empire on the Christians and its defeat by God's final judgment. Indeed the whole book was written for this very purpose, to prepare the Christians for the persecution threatening from the Roman empire and to

announce its ruin in connection with the end of the world. Now the other authors of the New Testament think of the Roman empire very differently. Jesus, it is true, by his famous saying, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's," approves of the giving of tribute to Caesar, but he would not have done even this if he had judged the Roman empire as the author of Revelation. And Paul writes to the Romans: "Let every soul be in subjection to the higher powers; for there is no power but of God, and the powers that be are ordained of God." But probably neither he nor the authors of the First Epistle of Peter or of the First Epistle to Timothy, who follow him, would have spoken so strongly in favor of every ordinance of man and all that are in high places if *some* Christians had not refused to obey the Roman authorities. We may even suppose that Nero could not have charged the Christians with having set Rome on fire if some of them had not really longed for its destruction. These theories however would be mere guesses if there were no Revelation of John in which the Roman empire is indeed identified with the beast that is to appear at the end and to be overcome by the second advent of Christ. Now, it is true, during the author's lifetime things had changed; when Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans he had in general been well treated by the higher powers; four or five years later, Nero persecuted the Christians, and now Domitian wanted to be adored like a god and threatened all those who could not condescend to do so with capital punishment. But nevertheless the authors of the First Epistle of Peter and of the First Epistle to Timothy who wrote only a little earlier or even later than the author of Revelation, kept on recommending obedience to the magistrates; the mode of viewing them in the Apocalypse is therefore fundamentally different from that in the other New Testament writings. Our ideas as to the position of the oldest Christianity with regard to the state would be incomplete if we did not have the Revelation of John. The same holds good with the apocalyptic theories of the first century in general. We know from the eschatological discourse of Jesus, and from Paul's Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, and from occasional remarks in other epistles that the Christians expected different signs before the end; but only from the Revelation of John we learn what curious and queer ideas in this regard existed in some circles at least.

The very adjectives I have just employed show that we can no longer make these ideas our own. We cannot even adhere to their pessimistic interpretation of this world, and expectation of a future catastrophe which is so characteristic and of such fundamental significance to the apocalyptic writers. Nevertheless these ideas were not only of primary importance in the early history of Christianity, in so far as they prepared the hearts of the people first to listen to Christ's gospel and afterward to maintain their new faith in spite of an adverse world, but they may be instructive and helpful even to the modern man. "The apocalyptic temper," says Professor Porter, "is needed when religion is assailed and in danger; and in all times the religious life needs to maintain its purity and strength by some sort of protest against the world, some defiance of ruling ideals and customs, some faith in realities above those of sense, and in truths contrary to appearances."

THE REAL JESUS

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There is a general recognition, on the part of those who study the gospels, and even on the part of many who read them superficially, that there is a considerable difference between the figure of Jesus that meets us in the Synoptists and that which stands on the pages of John's Gospel. These are the main elements of difference pointed out: First, a self-assertiveness in the Jesus of John, an extraordinary use of the first personal pronoun. Second, a style quite different from that of the synoptic Jesus. The Jesus of the first three gospels speaks in parable and proverb, in a simple style to be readily appreciated by common people; the Jesus of John talks like a classroom teacher rather than an open-air preacher. The difference appears readily if we contrast the parable of the Lost Sheep with the allegory of the Good Shepherd. Third, in John the figure of Jesus is more portentous, less simple. It is much easier to imagine John's Christ wearing a halo as he moved among men than to imagine the Christ of the Synoptists so arrayed.

These may serve as illustrations of the differences found between the Jesus of the first three gospels and the Jesus of the Fourth Gospel. They raise a question not easy to answer, Which is, or what was, the real Jesus?

Now the answer almost invariably given is that the Synoptists come nearer to what Jesus really was; that the representation in John is idealized, worked over, mixed with subjective notions and theological ideas, till we find it impossible to detach the real Jesus from the author's thoughts. Strong reasons are given in support of this view. The Synoptic Gospels come from many sources, while John's is evidently the work of a single thinker. The Synoptic Gospels took shape before the Fourth Gospel, and therefore are more reliable. It is a healthy instinct with us to give preference to the more natural, the less marvelous, of two accounts; and therefore we

find more satisfaction in the synoptic story. Finally, the style of the Fourth Gospel is identical with that of the epistles of John and that style runs through the whole book; Jesus talks that way, and John the Baptist, and everybody else. It is like one of Browning's dramas, in which every character, whatever sentiments he may voice, talks in the characteristic language and thought-modes of the poet. Here are indeed powerful arguments for the theory that John's Jesus is an idealized, made-over picture.

But there is something to be said for the other side, though it is not often said. Can we defend the proposition that John's representation of Jesus is at least as faithful as that in the first three narratives?

First of all, there is a growing appreciation of the eye-witness character of the Fourth Gospel. It is becoming harder all the time, I think, to defend the proposition that this gospel is simply the work of a pious imagination with a theological bias. The marks of a faithful witness are too many and too sure.

If we agree that this gospel comes in any large part from an eye-witness, the objection from its late date is greatly weakened, even if it does not altogether disappear. It is a minor matter whether personal recollections are written down early or late; it may affect coloring and style, as it undoubtedly has affected them here; but it will not seriously impair the faithfulness of the picture.

Again, even if we admit that the representation of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel is more portentous, less "natural," that conception of Jesus as unique certainly fits the impression which Jesus made on the men of his time who knew him best, and the impression he has made on the world since his time, especially on those who are personally attached to him. If Christian faith can be defended as worthy and practically valuable, then it is certainly significant that the conception of Jesus found in John's Gospel fits into the faith of the average Christian wonderfully well.

When we face the argument from style, we have to admit that the style of Jesus' own utterances has certainly been modified to conform to the peculiarities of the author of the Fourth Gospel. Yet a good case may be made out for the proposition that Jesus' own style was not so different from that of the Fourth Gospel as one might superficially think. It is easy to overlook many sayings of Jesus in the

synoptic accounts, which are similar to his sayings in the Fourth Gospel. There are bits of abstract and argumentative style, such as "God is not the God of the dead, but of the living; for all live unto him." There are arguments quite in the Johannine manner: "Who do men say that I am? Who say ye that I am?" "Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself; handle me and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have;" "Whosoever shall do the will of my Father in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister and mother;" "Ye are they that justify yourselves before men; but God knoweth your hearts; for that which is highly esteemed among men is abomination in the sight of God." Almost any one of those sayings could be expanded into an argument such as we find in nearly every chapter in John. The last quoted has all the lack of shading, the severe black-and-white effect that is alleged to be a prominent characteristic of the Fourth Gospel.

There are mystic sayings in the Synoptists, quite like those in John. The promise, "If two of you shall agree as touching anything, it shall be done," is almost a literal parallel of the promise in the fifteenth chapter of John; while the word, "Where two or three are gathered in my name, there am I in the midst of them," is strikingly like the promise in John 14:23. It is hard to point out any essential difference from the style of the Johannine Jesus in the saying, "I thank thee, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that Thou hast hid these things from the wise and understanding and hast revealed them unto babes."

Nor is the allegory, as distinguished from the parable, so exclusively the vehicle used by the Jesus of John as some would have us think. What essential difference is there between "I am the vine, ye are the branches" and "Ye are the light of the world, the salt of the earth"? The saying in the Sermon on the Mount, "The light of the body is the eye," etc., is far more like one of John's allegories than it is like one of the synoptic parables. The significant utterance about the strait gate leading to life and the broad way leading to destruction is quite in the style of the Johannine Jesus.

But it is just in the place where critics tell us the greatest difference in style is found that we see most frequent instances of likeness—in the matter of Jesus' self-assertiveness. What is there in John more

lofty than the statement, "All authority is given to me in heaven and on earth; go ye therefore," or the word that follows, "Lo, I am with you alway even unto the end of the world"? Where is there more positive self-assertion than in such words as "In this place is one greater than the temple, greater than Jonah, greater than Solomon," or the statement, "Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father"? One of the most stupendously self-assertive sayings of all is that word, "Come unto me all ye that labor, and I will give you rest." What self-assertiveness can be more marked than that which calmly makes the motive "for my sake" equal the motive "for righteousness' sake," as Jesus does in the Sermon on the Mount? This self-assertiveness rises to a height and a style absolutely Johannine in the saying, "All things are delivered unto me of my Father; and no man knoweth the Son save the Father, neither knoweth any man the Father save the Son and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him."

I venture to say that if these sayings of Jesus had been recently discovered as fragments, with no clue to their place, students would classify many of them with the Fourth Gospel rather than with the other three, and that at least two of them, those beginning, "Come unto me, all ye that labor," and "All things are delivered unto me of my Father," would be classed as Johannine in style almost or quite unanimously. In the face of so many examples of this style (and only a few have been given), we may well hesitate to admit the existence of a great gulf between the Teacher in John and the Teacher in the Synoptists.

There remains the argument that the sources for the narrative in the Synoptists are many, while the Fourth Gospel evidently comes from a single mind.

But this is precisely where the argument for the faithfulness of the Fourth Gospel gets its power. We find in the first three large sections literally the same, verbatim reports or nearly such. We find here, as is well-known and accepted, all the marks of a tradition, that passed from lip to ear, from one to another, through many minds. The first three gospels, in their present form, are the result of such a process of sifting, sorting, dropping some elements, retaining others, polishing, simplifying, abbreviating.

What is more likely than that as a result of such a smoothing process there should appear what we may well call a conventionalized Jesus? What elements would be most readily dropped as the tradition rolled on? Evidently abstract ideas, teachings in logical shape, theological conceptions, allegories, mystical assertions of the eternal significance of the person of Jesus. These would not readily pass from one mind to another. What would most surely be retained? Stories, simple acts, proverbial sayings. The very things that impressed the crowd when they were done or said would impress the crowd when they were related; and as the early preachers went everywhere telling the story of Jesus they would naturally dwell on the simple, straightforward elements in his words and deeds, till the more abstract part almost dropped out of sight.

It is easy to see the difference between the Sermon on the Mount and the fifteenth chapter of John. The Sermon has the sententious, limpid, proverbial form. But does that necessarily mean that it is nearer to the real style of Jesus' teaching? Is not the proverb almost always the result of passing from mind to mind, through a long process of handling and rubbing? The proverb is a rolling stone that gathers polish. These sayings in the great Sermon look like pebbles of thought, rolled over and over till they are smooth and round. When we grasp the significance of the process by which the Synoptic Gospels took shape, we wonder not that we do not find in them more sayings in the deeper and more abstruse style of John's Jesus; we wonder that any such sayings survived the process of conventionalization.

The prevalent view of the gospel story seems to be that at the source of Christian faith stands a wonderful man, living a beautiful life, speaking words of moral and religious truth exquisite for simplicity and clarity, dying a death that awes and inspires, and (perhaps) impressing on his friends the fact that after death he still lived. Time and thought took hold of that real man-figure, and added much of miracle of deed and miracle of dogma, till the Jesus of Galilee was transformed into the marvelous Christ of the creeds. In all the gospels we find traces of this glorification of Jesus, but most of all in the Fourth Gospel; and the synoptic account is very much nearer Jesus as he really was.

But that prevalent view fails to meet the real testimony of Christian

history and experience. It is the very elements which the critic says were added by pious imaginations that have won the faith of believers. With all deference to greater learning than my own, I am frank to say I believe Christ created the first Christians, not that the first Christians created Christ. Every time I try to catch the point of view of some critics—that the Christ of Christian faith is an apotheosis of a simple man of Galilee—I fall back on Matthew Arnold's dictum, "Jesus above the heads of his interpreters." To me what Christ has done in history is decisive as to his being creator, not product, of Christian faith.

This then is the hypothesis I would offer: Back of all these records stood the figure of Jesus, living his many-sided life. There were markedly two sides to that life, the simpler side of homely adaptation to daily life, and the more hidden, more complex, more unique side of lofty thought, of eternal vision, of God-communion, of grasp on the great truths that lie hidden in daily conduct as the steel frame is buried in the modern building. The crowd that watched and listened caught accurately the simpler side. Out of each discourse they grasped and treasured up but a few sentences; much of it left them confused, bewildered at the revelation of a mind far beyond their power of thought; but they carried away bits of wonderfully simple wisdom. And our three Synoptic Gospels, growing, as we know they did grow, by a process of working over the facts through the formation of popular traditions, preserve for us that popular impression which Jesus made.

But only a few could catch the inward truth of Jesus' life. It was the hidden face of the moon, that never shows itself to the ordinary gaze. His loftier sayings were arrows shot into the air. Only in the heart of a friend could they find lodgment, as the arrow in the unknown oak. And, lodging there, in the heart of a friend, these impressions of the inner life of Jesus grew and deepened, till they took shape in this last of the gospel stories. John's account is subjective, of course, colored with the personal feeling of the writer; that was inevitable in a biography built on personal impressions by a man of imagination powerful and sensitive enough to see what Jesus really was at heart. But, for all its subjectivity and technical inaccuracies, a biography written by a personal friend out of his personal impres-

sions and recollections may reveal the real man better than a literally exact story, just as a painting may give a better idea of a landscape than the most accurate photograph could give.

But I hold that the picture of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels is not a simple photograph. It is a conventionalized picture, a composite of many views, the result of a process of sifting and smoothing that has made the figure of the Son of God as nearly commonplace as it was possible for it to be made. I have in my home a composite photograph of the Madonna, made from over a hundred celebrated pictures of the mother of the Savior. There is a wonderful simplicity, sweetness, and softness, caught from the blending of the differing views here gathered into one face. Yet I would far rather look at the Sistine Madonna. I think I get nearer the real woman there.

Neither the composite, that has gathered into itself the impressions made on the many, nor the portrait that reflects the individual view of the artist, is complete. Each helps the other. Perhaps the world at large gets the best possible idea of our Friend from the composite photograph. But for those who love him and are honored with his personal friendship, there is a peculiar charm in the color and warmth of the portrait, that makes them say, Here best of all I meet the real Friend whom my heart loves.

RECENT DISCUSSIONS OF THE MESSIAHSHIP OF JESUS

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The word *Christ* is a Greek translation of the Hebrew *Messiah*, "the Anointed One;" in the Old Testament it regularly referred to the king of Israel; and in New Testament times it would naturally mean the long-hoped-for king who should deliver the Jewish people from the Roman yoke and make them the sovereign nation of the world. How shall we relate the life of Jesus to such ideas? No biblical problem has, in recent years, so occupied the attention of German scholars as this. It is significant that the most famous of Old Testament students, Wellhausen, and the most distinguished church historian, Harnack, should both be devoting themselves now to the study of the gospels. The credibility of the gospels as historical sources is undergoing a fire of destructive criticism which leaves nothing untouched. So also most divergent views regarding the person of Jesus are being championed. In all this discussion attention has been focused on the messiahship of Jesus. Did he really come before men as the Christ, the Messiah? Did he so regard himself? It is the purpose of my paper to follow the shuttle-like movement of this German discussion as it goes from one extreme to the other, and to give an estimate of the fabric of opinion that is being woven.

The traditional view regards Jesus as consciously the Messiah from the beginning. John the Baptist recognized him as such. The first disciples came to him fully assured of his messiahship,¹ and the opponents of Jesus began at once to contest his messianic claims. This traditional view rests on the Gospel according to John, and could not survive the historical attacks on that gospel. It is becoming more and more certain that the Fourth Gospel must be regarded as an interpretation of the person of Jesus rather than as a historical presentation. Such conservative scholars as Dr. Drummond recognize in it a large

¹ John 1:41.

subjective element which forbids its being placed beside the other gospels in historical importance.

Instead of John, the current critical view has made Mark the basis. This standpoint is well represented in Oscar Holtzmann's *Life of Jesus*. According to him Jesus was conscious of his Messiahship from the time of his baptism, but he concealed it until the secret was discovered by the disciples themselves. This occurred when Peter confessed him to be the Christ at Caesarea Philippi.² Jesus began then to interpret to them his messiahship and to announce his approaching suffering and death. But they were forbidden to reveal it to others. In Jericho, however, a blind man hailed him as the Messiah,³ and at the entrance to Jerusalem Jesus accepted public recognition as such. He solemnly asserted his messiahship before the Sanhedrin,⁴ and on this charge was crucified by Pilate.⁵ On the authority of Mark, this development has been regarded as strictly historical.

Recent discussion was started by the keen, logical attack which Wrede made on this position, when he published *Das Messiasgeheimniss in den Evangelien*. He affirms that this is not the scheme of Mark, neither is it the scheme of history. It rests upon an uncritical use of that gospel, just as the older, traditional view rests upon an uncritical use of John. He asks why, if this is Mark's view, so much remains to be inferred, and why is it not carried through consistently? On the other hand, how improbable is it that this should be preserved by Mark unconsciously? He grants that there is a Messiah mystery here, but he insists that it is a very different thing from this scheme of modern critics. According to Mark, he says, Christ as a superhuman being is recognized by the demons, who also are superhuman beings; but this is a secret and they are forbidden to reveal it.⁶ Jesus' miracles bear witness to his messiahship, and so they too must be kept quiet. The command to say nothing is given even when, as in the case of Jairus' daughter, obedience is impossible.⁷ Mark says that only the disciples were to understand the mysteries of the kingdom, and so parables were used that the multitudes might see and not perceive, hear and not understand.⁸ Likewise, when the

² Mark 8:27 ff.

³ Mark 10:46 ff.

⁴ Mark 14:62.

⁵ Mark 15:26.

⁶ Mark 1:34.

⁷ Mark 5:43.

⁸ Mark 4:11, 12.

disciples confess Jesus to be the Christ, they are forbidden to tell anyone *until after the resurrection*.⁹ The Messiah secret must be kept. This is not history, says Wrede, it is a dogma, a theory about Jesus into whose framework Mark tries to fit what incidents he knows of Jesus' life. The Gospel of Mark belongs in the same class with the Gospel of John. This, the oldest gospel, has no true perspective of the historical life of Jesus. Wrede seems thus to knock from under modern criticism its very foundations, though such is certainly not his intention.

With the greatest skill he then proceeds to trace the steps by which this dogma arose. Mark's veiled messiahship has its origin in the idea that Jesus became the Christ through the resurrection. In Acts, chap. 2, Peter, while speaking of the resurrection, says: "Let all the house of Israel know assuredly that God hath made him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom ye crucified." The earthly life of Jesus lacked in fact the great messianic quality of kingship, but in rising from the dead he became a heavenly king. The thought, Wrede argues, would naturally arise in the minds of Christians that Jesus must have known that he would be the Christ, and soon they would say that he must have revealed it, though in some hidden way. Only by regarding it as hidden could they explain the want of evidence. Thus the Markan dogma arose of a Messiah mystery. Gradually more and more messianic features were added to the life of Jesus, and finally in the Fourth Gospel we have the culmination of this process of tradition. As the messiahship was thus set back into the earthly life, the conception itself was gradually transformed. Giving the word its natural Jewish meaning Jesus was not the Messiah, the Christ, and did not wish to be. Such is the theory which Wrede has presented with great skill and cogency.

Naturally enough, objections to his conclusions were soon raised. It has been pointed out that faith in the resurrection cannot explain faith in the messiahship, but requires this for its explanation. The risen Lord appeared only to those who had faith—faith in what, if not in the messiahship? Again, granting that Mark stands farther away from the historical life of Jesus and nearer to the other evangelists than critics had held, still the historicity of the Caesarea Philippi

⁹ Mark 9:9

incident, of the reply of Jesus to the high priest, and of the title on the cross, remains unshaken; and if Jesus did during his ministry claim at all to be the Messiah, the whole theory falls to the ground.

Wrede's conclusions have not been sustained, but his influence, nevertheless, has been great. This is partly, at least, due to the fact that he has only carried to its logical results a tendency well rooted in modern criticism. The older theology so magnified the super-human Christ as to make him unhuman. The eternal Christ of Paul and the Fourth Evangelist had crowded out the human Jesus. Modern criticism rediscovered the human Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels, and the Ritschlians have found his divinity in his ideal humanity. The teachings of Jesus have been magnified over against the theology of Paul, and the result has unquestionably been a great gain to Christianity. How wide the gulf between Jesus and Paul has been made is shown in the recent popular writings, *Jesus*, by Bousset, and *Paul*, by Wrede. It is part of the same tendency that scholars should minimize the messiahship of Jesus, and that finally Wrede should deny it altogether. Certainly Jesus did not dwell among men as King over Israel; his eternal, universal significance is not to be found in his being a Jewish Messiah. The whole notion seems to take us out of the sphere of the teaching of Jesus into that of apostolic dogma. But it is evident that the more one separates the historical Jesus from the apostles' conception of him, the more skeptical he must become of his sources; for it is their conception which dominates the Synoptic Gospels. So it comes to pass that Wrede regards even Mark as untrustworthy. Criticism has so undermined its own edifice that it might seem as though the whole structure were about to collapse. If Jesus is so different from the apostles' remembrance of him does he not vanish into mid-air?

It is time now to take note of another tendency among New Testament scholars. Baldensperger in a book, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu im Lichte der messianischen Hoffnungen seiner Zeit* (1888), called attention to a large class of Jewish writings, in which the messianic hope is given a meaning other than the ordinary sense of a kingdom of Israel, which under the rule of a descendant of David should conquer the nations of the world. He awakened an interest in contemporary apocalyptic literature where the messianic hope is

transferred to a mysterious, miraculous, transcendental sphere apart from this world altogether. Baldensperger regarded the religious-ethical element as primary in the self-consciousness of Jesus, but side by side with this he found a Jewish, eschatological element. Jesus was conscious of himself as standing in a unique, inner, spiritual relation to God, but also as the mysterious, superhuman Messiah of the apocalypses. The two aspects were not clearly related in Baldensperger's presentation, and it was not until four years later that the full bearing of this line of thought became evident. It was then, 1892, that Johannes Weiss of Marburg published a monograph, *Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes*.

Weiss insisted that the whole teaching of Jesus must be interpreted from the eschatological point of view. The Kingdom of God is not, as Ritschl taught, the moral and social ideal, present as well as future. It is future only, the blessedness of the coming age, and is to be understood only in the language of Jewish apocalypses.¹⁰ In like manner Jesus' messiahship does not express what is but what is to be. On earth Jesus is only a prophet, but when the future age dawns—and it will dawn very soon—he will appear as that mysterious Son of Man coming on the clouds of heaven whom Daniel foretold. The messiahship of Jesus belongs to the ecstatic, visionary side of his nature. It expresses his enthusiastic hope that in his own person the apocalyptic visions of the time will be realized. In the resurrection appearances the disciples of Jesus saw him in his heavenly glory, and knew him to be indeed the Christ. But as time went on and Jesus did not come again, they transferred this heavenly messiahship to his earthly life. Here Weiss agrees with Wrede. Both hold that Jesus' earthly life did not fulfil the conditions of messiahship; but, while Wrede makes the whole notion an apostolic creation, Weiss maintains that Jesus shared with his later followers their apocalyptic, messianic hopes.

No New Testament treatise of recent years has had a greater influence than this of Johannes Weiss, and it was not long before his point of view was carried to the same logical extreme that Wrede had carried the other. Albert Schweitzer in 1906 published a history of the Life-

¹⁰ Practically the same interpretation of the Kingdom is adopted by Shailer Mathews in *The Messianic Hope in the New Testament*.

of-Jesus discipline, entitled *Von Reimarus zu Wrede*. This book is full of most startling statements. In summing up the result of investigation during the century, he says that "nothing is more negative than the Life-of-Jesus research." "The Jesus of Nazareth, who appeared as Messiah, proclaimed the ethics of the kingdom of God, founded the kingdom of heaven on earth, and died to consecrate his work, never existed. He is an image, devised by rationalism, vivified by liberalism, and clothed with historical learning by modern theology. The only choice is between "consistent skepticism and consistent eschatology." New Testament scholars have sought to make the historical Jesus live in our age, but to their dismay they cannot keep him here. He returns to his own age "with the same necessity with which a freed pendulum returns to its original position." Schweitzer describes Jesus as one who did not himself desire to teach, and who did not choose his disciples for that purpose. He considered that God had predestined the chosen few who would accept his truth. There was for Jesus no ethics of the Kingdom of God. The Sermon on the Mount was intended only to show the needed preparation for the end so near at hand. He was disappointed that this end did not come before the return of the disciples from the mission on which he sent them. But nothing could shake his faith. The feeding of the multitude was, in truth, a secret, eschatological sacrament. Jesus went to Jerusalem in order to die and at the same time strike the last hour of the old world. He died—and the hope of the coming of God's kingdom, which he held up to the hour of his death, remains today unfulfilled. No one but a German, possessed with a single idea which he must carry out at all hazards, could have concluded a masterly review of modern criticism with such a fantastic picture as this.

We have traced the movement from the extreme non-messianic to the extreme messianic. We are now in a position to consider its larger significance. It points first of all to a higher valuation of our gospel sources. Such men as Wellhausen, Dalman, and Nestle have definitely established that most of the material of the Synoptic Gospels comes directly from the Aramaic, the language of Palestine.¹¹ This means, as Jülicher says, that "the gospel was essentially com-

¹¹ Professor Torrey of Yale has discovered other valuable evidence which it is to be hoped he will publish.

pleted in the home of Jesus before his generation had passed away, and believing Jews wrote it down then in their own language. This sentence has more weight than a hundred questions against gospel verses."¹² It is true that the gospels themselves compel us to distinguish between the historical Jesus and what the disciples thought of him, but the two must not be so widely separated as to do violence to the sources. Wrede's extreme skepticism showed the need of calling a halt just here. Schweitzer's saying that "either the Mark text is as such historical and then to be saved, or it is not and then to be given up" is an unreasonable reaction but significant on that very account.

Another result of this movement is the recognition of a side of Jesus' nature which was being neglected. In that famous chapter with which Wellhausen closes his *History of Israel*, he writes of Jesus:

His speech is not the impassioned utterance of the prophets but the calm speech of the Jewish wise man. He brings to expression only what every upright soul must feel. What he says is not the exceptional but the evident; according to his own conviction none other than what stands in Moses and the prophets. But his irresistible simplicity separates him from Moses and the prophets, and as far as heaven from the rabbis.

Jesus is, as Wellhausen says, the wise man. His parables are the finest example of such teaching in all literature. But, as the eschatologists have pointed out, he is also the prophet, whose words are full of passion and power. He set before men what he had to say, oftentimes, in the most radical and paradoxical forms. Now his words blaze with indignation, now they melt in tenderness. Furthermore the wise man's teaching has no stamp of personality on it. Who the speaker is, is a matter of indifference. But the prophet's utterance is an expression of himself. We know many of Israel's early great prophets by name, but the older wise men all disappear behind the *nom-de-plume* of Solomon. Incontestibly it was the person of Jesus rather than his teaching which most impressed those who heard him. There was a power within him that moved and influenced men, and Jesus must have been sensible of this power. There is a note of newness and originality in his words. He speaks with authority. He came to fulfil the law and the prophets, but as one who is their master

¹² *Neue Linien in der Kritik der evangelischen Ueberlieferung*, S. 73.

and who uses them with sovereign freedom. As Wernle has said, Jesus could not have had such a strong sense of fulfilment and finality in his own person without regarding himself as a prophet or the Messiah; nay more, since the prophets always looked forward to someone greater than themselves, in the Messiah idea alone could his self-consciousness be satisfied.

The teaching of Jesus, the wise man, cannot explain Christianity. There flowed out from Jesus' person the most tremendous force human history has ever felt. What characterized early Christianity above everything else was its consciousness of power, and this power was always recognized as coming from Jesus. Back of it all is his personality. The eschatologists are right in emphasizing these things, and they are also right in interpreting this personality in terms of the first, and not the twentieth century. It was Jesus the Messiah, the Christ, that kindled in the breasts of his disciples the fire which so quickly spread through the Roman world. In the extreme, however, to which Schweitzer has carried the movement we can see wherein its weakness lies. There was need of emphasizing the importance to religion of the Messiah personality of Jesus, but the distinguishing mark of personality is just that plus which is over and above its antecedents and environment. Even so that which is most significant in the person of Jesus is just that which transcends Jewish messianism. Professor George B. Foster in a recent address¹³ made the statement that Christianity in a real sense passed away with the overthrow of messianism. The question then would be, how it came to survive. History reveals no great creative spirits at the beginning of the second century. As a matter of fact, from the start Christianity was something more than Jewish messianism. Jesus belonged to his time, he shared its world-outlook, its belief in angels and demons, its picture of the future. But Jesus must have transcended his age. To quote again from Wellhausen, whose words have a greater value coming from a Jewish historian: "Jesus rejected the accidental, fantastic, decadent, and gathered together the eternally valid, the human-divine in the burning-glass of his soul—*ecce homo*—a divine wonder in this

¹³ This address, given before the Philosophical Union of the University of California last September, is now published under the title *The Function of Religion in Man's Struggle for Existence* (The University of Chicago Press, 1909).

time and in this environment." Jesus found in the messiahship the best expression of his own self-consciousness, and probably he looked forward to a divine vindication of his message in the immediate future as the apocalyptic writers had portrayed. But still messianism is not the heart of his religion, it is rather the form of its expression.

The extreme eschatological position can only be maintained by doing violence to much in the gospels which does not fit these apocalyptic schemes. The opposing critical school has been right in making fundamental in Jesus' self-consciousness not the messiahship, but the ethical-religious sonship. He is assured that he is the Son of God, hence the authority and finality of his work and words. He purposes to bring his fellows into the same relationship to God, and this is the underlying motive of all his activity and teaching. In putting this foremost we are not separating ourselves from his first great interpreters, Paul and the Fourth Evangelist, for they too do the same thing.

The weakness of either position when pushed to the extreme has become evident; we may expect now a larger, more stable synthesis. The most noteworthy effort in this direction comes from Heinrich Holtzmann, the patriarch of New Testament scholars. The passage with which he closes his discussion *Das messianische Bewusstsein Jesu* may fittingly conclude this article:

In Jesus' consciousness that was immediately and inseparably one which the historical analysis differentiates, i. e., the theocratical and the ethical sonship, a conquering messiahship, and that creative, religious originality, which in the messianic consciousness only received its historical stamp. . . . Jesus' messiahship means his experience of God projected out of the present into the future. The *Son of God* corresponds to the present experience; the *Son of Man* is the postulate of the future. . . . *Son of Man* and *Son of God* build into inseparable, comprehensive unity the messianic ideas of Jesus, who left the Jewish Messiah behind him, but was at the same time historically conditioned thereby, and can only be made intelligible on the basis of Old Testament and late Jewish premises. . . . He was the Messiah and more than the Messiah as his forerunner John was a prophet and more than a prophet.

PAUL'S THIRD MISSIONARY JOURNEY¹

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The second missionary journey came to an end when Paul returned to Antioch (Acts 18:22). "Having spent some time there, where he was first ordained a missionary to the Gentiles (13:3), he departed" (18:23). This began the third missionary journey. For convenience this tour may be analyzed as follows: (I) Paul's journey from Antioch to Ephesus; (II) Paul's ministry at Ephesus; (III) Paul's journey to Macedonia, Achaia, and Jerusalem.

I. PAUL'S JOURNEY FROM ANTIOCH TO EPHEBUS

(Acts 18:23—19:1)

This trip was not an evangelistic tour and it was a hurried one. He went through the region of Galatia and Phrygia (18:23)—the upper country (19:1)—where he had previously been (16:6) and where churches had been organized, stopping only long enough to see and encourage the disciples. His heart was leading him to Ephesus, the center of that district which made the only gap in the continuous line of churches from Antioch to Corinth. After leaving the sphere of his former labors in Galatia and Phrygia he evidently did not take the generally traveled route to Ephesus which passed through Laodicea and Colossae, as a letter written later indicates he had never been in these cities (Col. 2:1). The route, therefore, is uncertain. He came to Ephesus as quickly as possible both because of his own desire and also to redeem a promise of long standing (Acts 18:20, 21).

II. PAUL'S MINISTRY AT EPHEBUS

(Acts 19:1—20:1; 20:17—35; I Cor. 15:32; 16:8, 19; II Cor. 1:8—10; Rom., chap. 16).

1. *The city*.—Ephesus was a great lodestone to Paul. He not only greatly desired to leave a finished work of evangelization in Asia

¹ This study covers the International Sunday-School Lessons from August 15 to September 12.

Minor—and the western part had hitherto been practically untouched—but the city in itself made a great appeal. Paul was dominantly an urban man. He loved the city with its seething life. He had planned his campaign with cities as the bases of operations. Already he had labored at Antioch, Thessalonica, Corinth, Athens. His eyes were even now turned upon Rome, the imperial city (Rom. 1:13), but before going farther west Ephesus claimed him. Ephesus had been the capital city of the Roman province of Asia (Asia Minor) for more than two hundred years and in trade, culture, political influ-



GENERAL VIEW OF EPHEBUS AS IT WAS IN 1830

ence, and oriental splendor it rivaled Antioch of Syria and Alexandria of Egypt, the other two great cities of the eastern Mediterranean.

It lay on the great trading route between Rome and the East, situated on the Cayster three miles from the sea; it was also a meeting-point of many intersecting and converging roads; all of which made Ephesus one of the great trading and commercial centers of the Roman empire. Here was gathered a truly cosmopolitan population, both resident and transient. The Jews had a large colony in the city with their own synagogue (Acts 18:19). Pagan schools of philosophy

flourished (19:9) with their own lecture-halls and attendants. The amusements of the city focused in the great theater which seated from 25,000 to 50,000 spectators, and which was in almost daily use by the fun-loving populace. But Ephesus' fame rested largely on its magnificent temple of Diana. The city was known as "The temple-keeper of the great Diana," whose wooden image, said to have fallen from heaven (19:35), lay within the massive and splendid building



EPHESUS: SITE OF THE THEATER

built by the contributions of all Asia. "The sun saw nothing in its course more magnificent than Diana's temple." The adored deity of the Ephesians was not the chaste goddess of the Greeks, but rather she was the Cybele of the Phrygians, the Astarte of the Phoenicians, "the impersonation of the vitality and reproductive powers of nature," and her worship was made the sanction of the grossest immorality and sensuality.

Here, if ever, Paul had a chance to prove whether or not the gospel

was a real power unto the salvation both of the Jew and of the Gentile (Rom. 1:16).

The presence of the temple with its multitudinous ceremonies and feasts, of the pleasure-seeking crowds which filled the great theater, the excitement and dangers of the commercial, political, and social life, the superstitious devotees of "black art" learned "in the Ephesian letters," the oriental pomp, the military activity, the official display, the vast crowds of men, women, and children under the sway of a degrading code of ethics allowed and enforced by the religion of the city, the wretchedness, the vanity, the godlessness, the sin of it all gave Paul his call to labors that were unremitting and of greater duration than those spent in any other city. For three years (Acts 20:31) he spared himself neither day nor night in order to bring the gospel message to every soul.

2. *Early days of Christianity in Ephesus.*—When Paul reached Ephesus on his third missionary journey he found certain disciples there (Acts 19:1). These evidently were Jews who believed in John's gospel of a coming Messiah and who had submitted to his baptism, significant of repentance. They were not Christians in the fullest sense. They had not heard of the living Christ and the gift of the Spirit which accompanied Christian baptism. These Paul instructed and baptized. However, there were at least two Christians in the city, for Aquila and Priscilla, Paul's fellow-laborers in Corinth, were residents of Ephesus (18:2, 18-21, 26). Their earnestness and consecration must have borne fruit in the conversion of others during their stay here even as it led them to recognize the abilities of Apollos and to undertake to instruct him in the fuller message of Christianity (18:24-26).

Some time before Paul's arrival this learned Jew of Alexandria, "mighty in the Scriptures," thoroughly earnest, godly, well informed concerning the prophecies of Jesus, began to preach in the synagogue. He, like the "disciples" Paul found when he arrived, knew only the message of John—the sure coming of the expected Messiah, and John's baptism.

Priscilla and Aquila recognized the possibilities of the man, instructed him "in the way of God more accurately" and commended him heartily to the disciples of Achaia (Corinth) among whom

he had gone just before Paul came on the scene (Acts 18:27, 28; I Cor. 1:12).

Some seed had been sown, therefore, when Paul came to his task. He found a few already Christian, notably Priscilla and Aquila, he found certain disciples ready for the larger instruction, and he found a place to begin among the Jews who had already heard Apollos. "The church" in the house of Aquila and Priscilla" (I Cor. 16:19) is evidently not to be referred to what Paul found when he arrived but to that which came into existence later.

3. *Christianity under Paul*.—Our information of a work that covered three years is discouragingly meager and even that which we have is unsatisfactory. We have two sources of knowledge, one from the pen of the writer of Acts, the other from Paul himself. The letter to the Ephesians would seem to furnish some data, but it is no longer regarded as a personal letter to the church at Ephesus, but a circular letter to a group of churches of which Ephesus was one, and is therefore of little value in this connection. One chapter in Acts—the 19th—covers three years' work and another chapter—the 20th—has a short report of Paul's farewell address to the Ephesian elders in which he recounts some of his experience in Ephesus. In Paul's letters to the Corinthians there are a few references to his Ephesian ministry (I Cor. 15:31, 32; 16:8, 19; II Cor. 1:8-10). The only other reference is found in Romans, chap. 16, which evidently is a misplaced communication to the disciples at Ephesus and which throws some light upon Paul's work at that place.²

Paul's ministry at Ephesus was a shorter ministry of three months among the Jews with the synagogue as the center of public activity and a longer ministry of over two years among the Gentiles with the school of Tyrannus as the public center.

a) *The Jewish Ministry*.—Paul, though a missionary to the Gentiles, always began his labors, where possible, among his own countrymen (Acts 13:5, 14; 14:1; 17:2; etc.). He did not depart from this custom here; when first he visited the city (18:19) he preached in the synagogue and now again he uses the synagogue as a basis of work among his people (19:8). His former preaching was so favorably received that he had been requested to stay for a longer time. He

² See McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, pp. 275-79; Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, I, 379-81.

could all the more now feel free to speak plainly and directly (*ibid.*). For three months he reasoned with his fellow-Jews about "The things of the kingdom of God," the principal theme being, probably, the messiahship of Jesus. When not preaching he was busied with other duties (20:20, 31) and it was during this period, evidently, that he instructed and baptized the twelve men who had been disciples of John the Baptist (19:1-7).

Paul's preaching this time, however, created determined opposition. Jews arose who tried to overthrow Paul's arguments by speaking derisively and inaccurately of "the Way," as the Christian life and teaching early came to be designated (Acts 9:2). Just what was done we do not know. In other cities the Jews planned to take his life. It is probable they did so here, though the account in Acts knows nothing of it. Paul, in his address to the Ephesian elders, speaks of certain trials which befell him at Ephesus because of the plots of the Jews (20:19). These may have been the cause of his decision (19:8) to abandon definite work among the Jews, to cease the synagogue ministry, to turn to the Gentiles, to find some other place for his public services, and to separate his disciples—organize a Christian community—apart from the Jews. Though his heart's desire was that *Israel* might be saved (Rom. 10:1) yet, here as elsewhere, he had to turn from his people because of their hardness of heart.

There are three phases of Paul's labors with the Jews,—his work with John's disciples resulting in the baptism of several, his work with the orthodox Jews resulting in opposition and final abandonment of definite work among them, and his experience with Jewish exorcists or sorcerers.

Ephesus was a center of superstition and magic. Not only Gentiles but Jews practiced it. Sorcery had a large following and a large literature. "The Ephesian letters," or magic formulae, had a wide reputation. Paul's miraculous cures (Acts 19:11, 12) were, to these people, manifestations of a higher form of magic. They listened to Paul's words as he healed, and then, thinking the name of Jesus was a sort of magic formula, they attempted to heal by using the same phrase.

Seven Jews, trying this name upon a man with an evil spirit, met such speedy and thorough humiliation that the power of the "black

art" was broken in this stronghold of sorcery, many were led to turn from their superstition, to put themselves under Paul's teaching, and to burn their books of magic publicly. It was estimated that these books were valued at above \$10,000.00.

Paul's work was thus advertised, his reputation increased, admiration and fear awakened among the people, both Jews and Greeks, and the name of the Lord Jesus magnified. "So mightily grew the word of the Lord and prevailed" (Acts 19:13-20).

b) *The Gentile Ministry.*—When Paul turned his back upon the Jewish synagogue he had to find some other place for his public preaching. This was found in the lecture-hall of one Tyrannus, an expounder of some form of pagan philosophy. Paul here showed his ability of adaptation: whether the hall was an abandoned hall, or whether he used it part of the day and Tyrannus another part, is not known. He evidently had a central and strategic location, and he was assured of an audience as well as a place of distinction in the culture of a city. He was unembarrassed by any connection with the Jews, and for two years he continued to preach and discuss daily in this schoolroom. This ministry was very far-reaching. The residents of Ephesus heard the word; visitors from out the city came to his lecture-hall, listened, and took back home glowing reports; Paul himself, in connection with this preaching, organized his disciples into evangelistic groups and sent them out through the surrounding country; converts were made among residents and visitors who, in turn, became evangelizing agents. One result is seen in the statement, "All they which dwelt in Asia heard the word of the Lord, both Jews and Greeks" (Acts 19:10). Undoubtedly, the seven churches of Asia were founded during this period, though their origin is uncertain (Rev., chaps. 1-3).

Such success, however, could not be long unnoticed. It awakened intense opposition. Acts knows only one Gentile conflict, namely, that which issued in Paul's leaving Ephesus. Paul's letters, however, seem to refer to another struggle with the Gentiles and one that was more severe and dangerous. In I Cor. 15:30-32, written at Ephesus, Paul declares he stands in jeopardy every hour, that he dies daily, that he fought with beasts at Ephesus. In II Cor. 1:8-10 he refers to the great affliction which came to him in Asia (Ephesus during

this time was his headquarters), one which not only depressed him but one which was well-nigh fatal, the rescue from which was a veritable resurrection. In Rom., chap. 16, if we adopt the view that it is a note written to the Ephesians, Paul speaks of Prisca and Aquila as those who laid down their own necks for him. Ephesus was the home of these disciples (vss. 3, 4), of Andronicus and Junias, who were his fellow-prisoners (vs. 7).

All of this indicates a far different conflict than that narrated in Acts. It must have preceded the conflict of Acts 19:23-41.

A probable construction of the course of events would be a conflict with the city authorities incited perhaps by the Jews in which Paul and several of his disciples were arrested, the throwing of Paul into the arena to fight with wild beasts, the "sentence of death" for violation of some political or religious law, the efforts of Priscilla and Aquila to save him, his providential deliverance, a deliverance so wonderful that Paul was a marked and favored man in Ephesus, resuming his work and laboring until the last conflict broke out under the leadership of Demetrius. We wish we had more accurate knowledge of this tremendous experience in Paul's life. We can only conjecture on the basis of the passages here given, and this conjecture is not altogether without its difficulties. If Paul did actually fight with beasts at Ephesus is it not strange that he did not enumerate this trial along with the others in his famous catalogue of afflictions (II Cor. 11:23-28) especially as it was so exceptional if it did occur?

Whatever the cause and the course of this first conflict with the Gentiles, greed under the guise of religion was the cause of the final conflict (Acts 19:23-41). Paul's labors had interfered greatly with the maintenance of pagan worship. His attacks upon idolatry had borne fruit. Not only in Ephesus but in all Asia the worship of Diana had fallen into some disrepute (vss. 23-27). Little would men have cared, however, if their wealth did not depend upon the maintenance of religion as then organized. A falling-off in the adherents of the Diana worship meant a great decrease in the manufacture and sale of all things connected with the regular and special services of the temple. Especially affected was the trade in small shrines of Diana made of silver, marble, or terra-cotta and containing an image of the goddess. One Demetrius, a silversmith, whose pocket-book had

suffered because of Paul's success, finally called a meeting of his guild of craftsmen and so aroused them by his appeals to their income-interests and their religious sentiments that they went out to seek vengeance upon Paul. A mob soon formed out of the easily excitable population. Paul was searched for but was not found owing to the efforts of some friendly officials (Asiarchs). Gaius and Aristarchus, Paul's companions, however, were caught and carried to the theater. Every attempt at a speech was met by howls and the cry, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians." Finally the town-clerk succeeded in quieting and dispersing the crowd by threats of punishment for an unjustifiable breaking of the city's peace and by counsels to seek redress through the proper judicial channels.

Some time before this Paul had been convinced that he ought to leave Ephesus before long, go over into Macedonia and Achaia, then on to Jerusalem, and at last take his way to Rome. In accordance with this purpose he had sent Timothy and Erastus into Macedonia to prepare for his coming (Acts 19:21, 22). He now evidently interprets this experience in Ephesus as the signal for his departure. He hurriedly calls his disciples together, and having left with them his final message he departs for Macedonia (Acts 20:1). Thus his ministry at Ephesus closes. We learn something more, however, of the character of the man and the nature of his work at Ephesus from Luke's report of Paul's words to the Ephesian elders gathered at Miletus to meet him when he stopped there on his way to Jerusalem (Acts 20:17-35). Note the varied character of his work: teaching publicly and privately (19:20), admonishing everyone (vs. 31), working at his trade to support himself and those with him (vss. 33, 34). Note how his labors were characterized: undertaken as one fully surrendered to the Lord; with lowliness of mind; saturated with tears of sympathy, sorrow, anxiety, desire; accompanied by suffering and hardship (vs. 19); sparing not himself in his ministry (vs. 24); holding nothing back (vss. 20, 27); coveting no man's silver, gold, or clothing (vs. 33). Note its duration, three years; its range, everyone; its intensity, with tears day and night (vs. 31). While the great themes of his teaching were repentance and faith (vs. 21), yet he shrank not from declaring anything that was profitable (vs. 20), even the whole counsel of God (vs. 27). The one controlling aim of all this ministry

he reveals (v. 24)—to accomplish his course (Phil. 3:12-14; II Tim. 4:7), to fulfil his God-given ministry of declaring the gospel of God's grace as seen in Jesus Christ (Gal. 1:16; Acts 26:12-20).

III. PAUL'S JOURNEY TO MACEDONIA, ACHAIA, AND JERUSALEM

The rest of Paul's third missionary journey is occupied with a few months' visitation in Macedonia and Achaia and on the homeward trip to Jerusalem making a few stops by the way.

While at Ephesus news had come to Paul of the serious condition of the church at Corinth. He had visited Corinth, evidently, while at Ephesus; he had corresponded with it; he had sent messengers to it. Now again he directs his way to the city where he had labored on the preceding tour and spends three months in Corinth and vicinity. The Corinthian correspondence reveals the situation to us, and that will be treated in a later issue. Another reason for his trip into Macedonia and Achaia was to secure the collection which he was gathering from all the Gentile churches for the relief of the saints in Jerusalem (Rom. 15:26; I Cor. 16:2; II Cor. 8:1 ff.; II Cor. 9:2). A plot of the Jews was discovered just as he was about to leave for Syria, so he abandons his plan of taking a ship at Corinth and goes on foot to Philippi. From there he sails for Troas where most of his party is waiting for him. In Troas, where on a previous visit he had heard the Macedonian call (Acts 16:8, 9), he stays for one week. Sunday finds him here and he joins with the disciples in the observance of the Lord's Supper, the only record we have of such an event in Paul's life. It throws light upon the custom of the churches. The observance was at night. It was preceded by a lengthy sermon which in this case was brought to a sudden termination by the falling of a lad from the third story window who was picked up dead. Paul immediately went down and succeeded in restoring him to life, after which he returned, joined the disciples in the Lord's Supper, talked with them until dawn, and then departed (Acts 20:3-12). While his companions came by boat from Troas to Assos, for some reason Paul traveled by land and alone, joining the rest at Assos and thence sailing with them to Miletus. Paul was anxious to reach Jerusalem with his collection before Pentecost. For this reason, although he knew he

would never see Ephesus again, the scene of his longest ministry, he passed it by (20:13-16). But he sent for the elders to meet him at Miletus. Here he took leave of them in an address, a scant report of which we have in Acts 20:17-35, and with sorrow and tears he left by ship for Jerusalem. The route home can easily be traced. From Cos by Rhodes they came to Patara where they changed ships, taking one bound for Phoenicia, and after some days' sailing they landed at Tyre, staying here seven days while the ship changed her cargo (21:1-6). When the time came for Paul to leave, all the Tyrian disciples with their wives and children came down to the beach and there "we prayed, and bade each other farewell."

After one day's stop at Ptolemais, the sea voyage ended at Caesarea where Paul was entertained several days at the home of Philip the evangelist (21:7-17; 8:4-40). Here in a symbolic manner a Judaean prophet foretold Paul's arrest by the Gentiles at Jerusalem, which led to an earnest entreaty on the part of Paul's friends that he would give up his journey thither. With breaking heart, yet stern rebuke, he declared his readiness to die, if need be, at Jerusalem for the name of the Lord. Their entreaties ceased and not long after the last portion of the journey was made and Paul and his party arrived at Jerusalem and lodged with Mnason of Cyprus, an early disciple (21:14-16).

Work and Workers

THE UNIVERSITY'S EDUCATIONAL COMMISSIONERS IN THE FAR EAST

MORE than a year has passed since the announcement that the University of Chicago would undertake a systematic investigation of the educational methods, resources, and needs of the far East, particularly China. This inquiry was committed to Professor Ernest D. Burton, the head of the department of New Testament literature, and the editor-in-chief of the *Biblical World*, and Professor T. C. Chamberlin, the head of the department of geology, editor of the *American Journal of Geology*, and president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Professor Burton, with his secretary, Dr. H. G. Reed, left New York on July 18, 1908, and after some weeks spent in Great Britain in preliminary matters connected with the enterprise, proceeded to Turkey, Palestine, and Egypt. After inspecting the colleges and educational methods of these countries, especially at Constantinople, Beirut, Jerusalem, Cairo, and Asiut, Professor Burton left Port Said October 7, and reached Bombay October 16.

In India Professor Burton visited Ahmednagar, Lahore, Simla, Delhi, Agra, Benares, Allahabad, Calcutta, Serampore, Ongole, Madras, Colombo, and Bangalore. At many of these places Professor Burton spoke, and at all he met and conferred with the educational leaders. His journeys in India aggregated more than 6,400 miles. Leaving Madras November 26 he visited Rangoon and Singapore, and on December 17 arrived in Hongkong.

After spending Christmas at Canton, Professor Burton returned to Hongkong, and resumed his educational investigation. Leaving Hongkong January 12, 1909, he visited Swatow, Amoy, and Foochow, and reached Shanghai January 20. On February 2, Professor Burton was joined at Shanghai by Professor Chamberlin, with his secretary, Dr. R. T. Chamberlin. On the same day, Professor Burton delivered the address at the dedication of a memorial tablet set up by the International Institute, the provincial viceroy, Tuan Fang, unveiling the tablet. February 8 to 11 were spent by the commissioners at Nanking, the provincial capital. On February 14, Professor Burton left Shanghai by steamer for Hankow, which was reached February 18. From Hankow Professor Burton and Dr. Reed proceeded by rail to Peking, where they met Professor Chamberlin and Dr. Chamberlin, who had come by way of Hongkong. The com-

missioners remained in Peking until March 2, when they returned to Hankow by rail and entered upon the most arduous and unusual part of their travels, the journey up the Yangtze Kiang to Chentu in West China.

Leaving Hankow on March 5, the commissioners with their secretaries, and a Chinese secretary, Mr. Wang, took the steamer for Ichang, which they reached on the evening of March 11. At Ichang the rapids of the Yangtze begin. Here the party transferred to a houseboat, such as are used in ascending the rapids, and on the 12th began the voyage up through the gorges of the river. The boats are drawn through the rapids with ropes by coolies. The distance from Ichang to Wanhhsien, 203 miles, was traversed in this way by the party in seven days; a little more than half the time ordinarily allowed for this journey. On March 19 Wanhhsien was reached. From this point the party struck across country for Chentu, traveling in chairs carried by coolies, and stopping at night at Chinese inns. Leaving Wanhhsien March 20, the party, with its servants and bearers, reached Chentu April 3, having covered the distance, perhaps 350 miles, in two weeks.

Professor Burton spent ten days in Chentu investigating the educational situation, visiting government and missionary institutions, and consulting with the local educators. Addresses were delivered in Chentu by Professor Chamberlin on "Some Principles of Education," and "The Geology of China," and by Professor Burton on "University Education in America" and "The Meaning of Liberty." While the commissioners were so fully occupied with their investigation that they had little leisure for speaking and lecturing, at many points they were met with invitations to speak which it was impossible for them to decline.

On April 14, the party left Chentu by chair, and proceeded to Kiang Chau, which they reached on the 15th. There they took a houseboat on the Min River, and descended it into the Yangtze, touching at Kiating and Chung King. At Ichang they left the houseboat and proceeded by steamer to Hankow. Hankow was reached on May 3, a little more than eight weeks after leaving it for the journey up the river.

After visiting Changsha and Nanking, Professor Burton returned to Shanghai, and then proceeded to Peking, where he met Professor Chamberlin again. The visit of the commissioners was reported by the Associated Press dispatches as completing the first comprehensive examination into state education in China. Professor Burton had traveled 15,000 miles, and visited fourteen provinces. On June 7 Professor Burton left Peking for Mukden, intending to proceed thence, by way of Korea, to Japan. On July 6 he was in Tokyo, where a reception was given him by

Count Okuma and eighty prominent educators. He is to reach San Francisco, August 13. Professor Chamberlin returns by way of Siberia.

Everywhere in China, as in India, the commissioners were not only shown every social courtesy, but were importantly aided in their investigation by government officials, missionaries, and other friends of education. It is reasonable to believe that their results, so systematically and comprehensively secured, will have an important bearing upon the problems of oriental education. The announcement of these results will be awaited with great interest.

A MOVEMENT is on foot to raise by subscription the necessary funds for the painting of a portrait of Professor S. R. Driver, which is to be presented to Oxford University, which for the past twenty-seven years he has honored by his tenure of office as Regius Professor of Hebrew.

REV. C. H. W. JOHNS, Litt.D., has recently been elected to a fellowship at Jesus College, Cambridge University. He has long been fellow and lecturer in Assyriology at Queen's College, Cambridge. Little attention has been paid to Assyriology at Cambridge, and this establishment of an endowment for this study in Jesus College is worthy of all praise. Dr. Johns ranks high in his department of scholarship.

DR. J. RENDEL HARRIS has been elected to an honorary fellowship in Clare College, Cambridge, where he was once a fellow. His work in early Christian literature is known to all students of that subject.

PROFESSOR GEORGE ADAM SMITH has just closed his work as a regular instructor in the Department of Old Testament at the University of Chicago for the first term of the Summer Quarter. His classes were largely attended and his work greatly appreciated. He will visit the Pacific Coast, lecturing at various institutions, before his return to Scotland.

THE American School of Archaeology at Jerusalem has had a very successful year. The number of students in residence under the directorship of Professor Robert Francis Harper was eight during the entire session and four others for the latter part of the year. Most of the time was spent in touring, all previous records of mileage being surpassed. The most important advance step taken this year is the purchase of a piece of land as the permanent site for the school. This land is located north of the Jaffa gate on the old Nablous road in the Mohammedan section of the city. The director for the coming year is Professor Richard Gottheil, of Columbia University.

Book Reviews

The Teaching of Jesus About the Future; According to the Synoptic Gospels. By HENRY BURTON SHARMAN, PH.D.
Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1909. Pp. 382.
\$3.26 postpaid.

This book is a credit to American scholarship. The careful study of it cannot but prove a valuable discipline in the critical reading of the gospels. Comparisons such as it is absolutely necessary to make between the different gospels are here made with tact and judgment. Distinctions which must inevitably be attempted between what Jesus actually said and what is incorrectly attributed to him are drawn with reserve, yet without fear, and in a persuasive, and I should say on the whole in a convincing, way. It is true that this region of the gospel records is the one in which it is easiest, and not the one in which it is for us most important, to make such distinctions. It is not the most important because it is not for information about the future that we are now returning to the teachings of Jesus. It is the easiest because it is in matters of eschatology that the influence of current Jewish ideas, of early Christian needs and hopes, and of the course of events, can most clearly be traced; but also because the things which historical evidence renders it least probable that Jesus uttered are for the most part just those which we would wish him not to have uttered. But just because it is easiest, it is the region where criticism may best enter and most successfully prove its rights and uses.

The results which Mr. Sharman reaches will be to many minds welcome as a genuine aid to faith. They form a defense of Jesus against the charge that he shared the extravagant messianic ideas and the fanatical hopes of his people. Jesus predicted the destruction of Jerusalem. Like Isaiah and Jeremiah, he saw that his nation was bringing destruction upon itself through political restlessness and ambition. These tendencies were now embodied in the party of the Zealots. Against their messianic pretensions Jesus warned his disciples, and prepared them to meet the impending calamities. The hoped-for Day of the Lord would not come, as the Zealots claimed, through revolt against Rome. It would come suddenly, without sign or warning, finding men in their daily walk, and deciding each man's destiny. This last day Jesus called the Day of the Son of Man; but he did not identify this coming judge with himself, nor did he say that the day was near, but rather that no one but God knew the time of

its coming. Though he warned his disciples of persecutions, he promised within their lifetime great conquests of his truth, a rapid growth of the kingdom of God. These three predictions, the destruction of Jerusalem, the Day of the Son of Man, the coming of the kingdom of God, were to Jesus entirely distinct. Their confusion is due to later misunderstandings. Beyond these three things, and the fact of a life after death, the forecast of Jesus did not go. Descriptions of the last judgment, of Paradise and Gehenna, are due almost wholly to the First Evangelist, and are not genuine.

Now, apart from some details, I find myself in agreement with these results, grateful to the writer for arguing them so ably, and inclined to rest with the expression of hope that the book may be widely read. Yet perhaps this advice may not be weakened, and the reading may even be made a little more interesting, if some points of criticism are added. Personally, then, I cannot but regret the acceptance of Professor Burton's theory of the Synoptic Gospels of which the writer says that although it involved the rewriting of his book it did not affect the conclusions previously reached either in general or in particular. I fear that the first hundred pages, in which this theory is expounded, will prove an obstacle to many readers. Professor Burton's work (1904), I need not say to readers of this journal, is a very able and important contribution to the Synoptic Problem, but it is not the prevailing view. Accepting Mark as a source of Matthew and Luke, the peculiarity of Burton's theory lies in its treatment of the materials left in these two gospels after the subtraction of Mark. Only parts of these materials are common to the two gospels. The ruling critical theories agree in proceeding to construct a second main source (Q) on the basis only of these common parts. In Luke these are found chiefly in two sections, 6:20—8:3 and 9:51—18:14, which however contain much besides, derived from unknown sources.

In place of Q and the undefined sources of materials peculiar to Matthew and Luke, Burton supposes three sources. The first of the two sections of Luke forms the principal part of one of these sources, G, to which Luke 3:7—18; 4:1—30; 5:1—11 are added. The second Luke section, as it stands, is a second source, P (adding only 19:1—28). The third source, M, Papias' *Logia*, contains the material peculiar to Matthew. Matthew used the first source quite fully, but the second only by excerpts. The coincidence of Matthew and Luke in recording sayings of Jesus loses, therefore, all historical significance. All the material in Luke 9:51—18:14 stands on the same level historically; whether Matthew used it or not. Its occurrence in Matthew may help to fix the text of document P, but does not define

its contents, and does not carry us back to an earlier source. According to this theory almost all that the three gospels as they stand contain comes from one or other of the four sources. Any gospel may record a source more accurately, and any source may report a saying more correctly. Historical criticism is not much helped by this literary theory, and one is not surprised that the adoption of it should necessitate little change in results already reached by a comparison in every case of all the records, and a decision as to historical fact based, not on literary but on historical considerations. It would seem to me better, however, that such a study as this should keep in form the essential freedom from dependence on a particular synoptic theory which it actually has in substance. At the same time it would seem desirable that the current two-source theory should have so much recognition as this, even from one who did not accept it, that the questions be raised and discussed whether or not the Q material (that which is actually common to Matthew and Luke apart from Mark) contains any distinct teaching on the subject under discussion. The recent studies of Wellhausen and Harnack have made this more imperative than ever.

Mr. Sharman has modified Burton's theory at one point. He recognizes in what is peculiar to Matthew, not only the source M, but also numerous editorial additions by the evangelist, in which his peculiar eschatological views and interests intrude themselves into the gospel traditions. The elimination of these ideas and phrases of Matthew from the teaching of Jesus is an important feature in the book. But there is an almost equally characteristic eschatological conception in Luke's gospel, of which due account is hardly taken. It is the conception of a reversal of lot between rich and poor in the world to come, with the inference that the rewards of that world are to be earned by giving up one's present possessions in alms. This idea of outward compensation, and this ascetic, almost monastic, choice of present poverty and suffering, is a departure by Luke, or by an important source of Luke, from earlier and better traditions of the words of Jesus. That this work of Luke is found in 6:20-49 as well as in 9:51-18:14 is an argument against Burton's separation of these sections into two independent documents. It is perhaps hardly fair to demand that so large a book should be made larger; yet one would like to add to the admirable exposition of zealotism and of the political situation as a background for the teaching of Jesus, some fuller treatment of Jewish apocalyptic ideas; some justification of the statement that in the phrase, "the Day of the Son of Man," Son of Man simply stands for Jehovah; even some fuller exposition of Jesus' conception of Messiahship. For after all, in the teaching of

Jesus about the future, the question with which we are most concerned, because of its bearing on our conception of his personality, is the question whether he claimed messiahship in the future sense, looking upon himself as the one destined to come as Messiah. But this critical question of "future messiahship" can hardly be discussed apart from a study of his words as to his death and resurrection; and these topics Mr. Sharman expressly omits from the scope of his book. Perhaps this is less a criticism of the book than a recognition of the fact that the teaching of Jesus is so much a unity that it is hard to treat any one topic in it without making oneself responsible for the whole. This is not a treatise on the messianic self-consciousness of Jesus. We hope, however, that the writer will supplement it by some fuller adjustment and elucidation of his suggestions that the disciples believed Jesus to be Messiah (pp. 126 ff.); that a definite messianic interpretation of himself by Jesus was exceedingly rare (pp. 131, 162); that he did not mean himself by Son of Man (p. 132); that he redefined the vocation of Messiah, as he did also the meaning of the kingdom of God (p. 315). From these hints as they stand it is not easy to construct an entirely consistent position.

One omission remains which is not so easy to justify. The reader of this book will be sure to ask whether these bold separations between authentic and unauthentic sayings in the gospels are the writer's individual opinions, or are in line with the views of other scholars. To be sure, well-considered reasons are better than long lists of authorities; yet it is well for a writer in this much-worked field to indicate his relation to other workers. As a matter of fact very many of the positions here well stated and ably defended are familiar to students in this field, and the work can be accepted as an able contribution to the common structure of modern New Testament scholarship. But the book would gain in effect if, for example, the discussions of the parables of the Tares and the Talents were put in relation to Jülicher's classical interpretations, with which in fact they largely agree; and if the brief treatment of the parables of the Great Supper and the Rich Man and Lazarus were supplemented from the same source. It must of course be confessed that any complete history of criticism would swell the book beyond reasonable bounds.

The strength of the book lies in its emphasis on the historical occasion and setting of Jesus' words about the future, in the skilful and persuasive way in which in detail the different records are compared and the original words recovered, and in the general defense of an ethical, in contrast to an apocalyptic, interpretation of the teachings of Jesus. I would urge the interest and importance of the study, and its value toward a right

understanding both of the nature of the gospel writings and of the mind of the Master.

FRANK C. PORTER

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A Short Grammar of the Greek New Testament, for students familiar with the elements of Greek. By A. T. ROBERTSON. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1908. Pp. xxix+240.

From the preface we learn that the author's object in publishing this short grammar is to supply the needs of those who have studied classical Greek and do not need an elementary grammar, but are not yet ready for the more critical minutiae of a book like Winer. The plan of the present grammar is determined by the object in view. Condensation is practiced as much as possible with clearness. The paradigms are not given, having been already acquired by the student, but brief discussions of New Testament variation in form occur. There is little criticism of the views of different grammarians. The space is reserved for the positive presentation of the main points of New Testament grammar. The effort is made to put the chief facts in such a way as to enlist the interest of well-prepared men, who know Attic Greek.

The preface is followed by a "brief bibliography" of six pages, in which the places of publication should have been given. In place of an index of subjects the table of contents is made very full. There are indices of New Testament passages and of some important Greek words. Of the horizon of the work, Dr. Robertson says:

This grammar is written after much study of modern methods in philology and research. The results of modern study of comparative grammar, modern Greek, the inscriptions, the papyri, etc., are kept constantly in mind. I have not been able, for lack of space, to draw largely on these treasures by way of illustration.

There are, of course, many grammars of New Testament Greek, so that when one wishes to add another to the list he can but repeat much that has been previously said. The main body of facts will not be new. The author of a new grammar, if he seeks to make any change, will find his efforts confined to changes in the method of arrangement and treatment. This grammar is divided into three parts—Introductory, Forms, and Syntax—the whole being divided into thirty-five chapters instead of the usual arrangement by sections under the three main divisions. The chief difference between this and other New Testament grammars is found in the treat-

ment of the genitive and dative cases, and in the large use of the results of the study of the papyri and comparative grammar.

Much emphasis is laid on the fact that the genitive and dative are composite cases, the genitive including the uses of the ablative, the dative the uses of the locative and instrumental, which they have absorbed. Bearing this fact in mind the student will not only better understand the uses of these cases, but will find the use of prepositions much less perplexing. The second difference between this and other grammars, namely the use of comparative grammar for the purpose of illustration, is very marked, and it may be a question in how far this is valuable. For comparative grammar is a study not often pursued in college and seminary. In the condensed form in which the illustrations from Sanskrit, Zend, Armenian, Gothic, German, Anglo-Saxon, etc., necessarily appear in a short grammar the illustrations may often confuse the student unless he has a wide enough knowledge of comparative grammar to understand them. From the use of this grammar by a teacher who should supplement it by explanation and illustration it might well happen that a student would have his interest in comparative grammar awakened and thus be led to acquire a wider knowledge of languages in general and so a better knowledge of Greek in particular.

Several simple typographical errors have been noted. I cannot find in Burton's *Moods and Tenses* the statement credited to it, p. 156, sec. 10.

HAMILTON FORD ALLEN

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Biblical Criticism and Modern Thought; or, The Place of the Old Testament Documents in the Life of Today. By W. G. JORDAN. Edinburgh: Clark; New York: Scribners, 1909. Pp. xi+317. \$3.00.

The nucleus of this book is a series of nine lectures addressed to the Theological Alumni Association of Queen's University, Canada, in connection with the author's appointment to the Chancellor's Lectureship. These lectures are supplemented by some other previously published addresses and papers which treat of the same general theme. The book is accordingly addressed primarily to ministers and intelligent laymen and its purpose is to recommend the commonly accepted results of criticism to this class of readers. Professor Jordan sees in criticism a mediating agency between the old rationalism on the one hand and the old orthodoxy on the other. The book is thus apologetic in its purpose. The ground traversed is familiar to all professional students of the Old Testament

and nothing very new or original from their point of view is to be found in Professor Jordan's discussions. What is required, however, in a work of this character, is thorough familiarity with the processes and results of contemporary scholarship, and this demand is amply satisfied.

The book appears to fall into four main divisions, though these are not marked off by the author himself. (1) There are two introductory chapters on "The Present Outlook for Old Testament Interpretation" and "The Old Testament as a Problem." In these chapters the historical method of interpretation is vindicated and the view of the Bible as a literature rather than as a canon is advanced. The problem of the Old Testament is to understand it as a literature on the background of general Semitic thought and culture. This naturally leads to (2) four chapters on "Archaeology and Criticism," "Assyriology and the Old Testament," and "Babylon and the Bible" (two chapters). In this section Professor Jordan shows how the great discoveries of the last half-century in the Semitic Orient have influenced our views of the Bible. On the one hand the critical reconstructions are defended against the attacks of such archaeologists as Sayce and Pinches, and on the other hand the originality of the Old Testament religion is maintained against the pan-Babylonians, such as Delitzsch and Winckler. (3) In the third main division, which treats of "Early Hebrew Religion," "Struggles and Survivals," "Historical Development," and "The Significance of the Documentary Theory (of the Pentateuch)," the general thesis is maintained that, while the form of Hebrew religion is in many respects the same as that of contemporary peoples, the essence is different (illustrated at length out of the first chapters of Genesis). (4) The last four chapters on "Criticism and Theology," "Criticism and the Preacher," "Modern Interpretation of Ancient Stories," and "The Message of the Prophets," are devoted to a discussion of some of the practical consequences of the modern view of the Old Testament.

The spirit of the whole book is constructive. Professor Jordan frankly confesses that positive reconstruction must work its way through a preliminary stage of negative conclusions, but the real temper of the book is voiced in the interesting personal confession that "all through this book there has been with me the twofold conviction that there is something creative, that is, divine, in the movement of Hebrew history and the growth of the Israelitish religion and that this divine element is most clearly seen when we, as a result of a critical examination of the documents, watch this distinctive faith fighting its way through all kinds of hindering circumstances and mutual entanglements" (p. 157).

On two points a word of criticism may be allowed. The chapter

on "Criticism and Theology" is mainly a defense of criticism against Professor Orr's charge of antisupernaturalism. But this is not just what was to be expected in view of the statement a few pages preceding that the great mass of historical material accumulated by criticism "will finally have a powerful influence on the study of the New Testament and on the reconstruction of Christian Theology" (p. 213). It is just this connection between Old Testament criticism and Christian theology that many people instinctively feel and fear. For example, one of the corner-stones of the traditional Christian theology is the doctrine of the fall of man in Adam and the exegetical basis of this has been the combination of the first chapters of Genesis with Paul. If the modern criticism of Genesis is accepted, this doctrine must be revised, but nothing is said as to this or similar topics under the caption "Criticism and Theology." The discussion of the supernatural is an exceedingly important *preliminary* discussion to a chapter on "Criticism and Theology," but even here it seems to the present reviewer that Professor Jordan hardly passes beyond the plea of "not guilty" as against Professor Orr's charge. Again in the chapter on "Modern Interpretation of Ancient Stories" Professor Jordan is quite clear as to the scientific impropriety of treating these stories in the pulpit in the way in which they have usually been treated. But is he so clear as to the homiletical gain from the modern view of these patriarchal narratives? The fact is, such stories as the Tower of Babel and Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac (the latter in itself one of the most marvelous of them all in its literary power and religious-historical interest) present very serious difficulties for pulpit use.

The review of Orr's book quoted on p. 288 as from the *Expository Times* is really from the *American Journal of Theology* for October, 1906.

KEMPER FULLERTON

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New Literature

The most important books listed in these columns will receive notice in the book-review pages.

OLD TESTAMENT

BOOKS

PICTON, J. A. *Man and the Bible. A Review of the Place of the Bible in Human History.* New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1909. Pp. 334. \$2.00.

An admirable book, concerned not with the question of the various versions and manuscripts about which so many books have been written, but with the far more interesting question of the attitude toward the Scriptures that has characterized the successive ages of the church's history.

ARTICLES

TORREY, C. C. "The Ezra Story in its Original Sequence," *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, July 1909, pp. 276-311.

An attempt to reconstruct the narrative of Ezra's doings in its original form.

COOK, S. A. "Simeon and Levi: The Problem of the Old Testament," *American Journal of Theology*, July, 1909, pp. 370-88.

BARTON, G. A. "Some Problems in Palestinian Topography," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1909, Part I, pp. 26-33.

A study of some recent identifications of Palestinian place-names.

WOOD, I. F. "Folk-Tales in Old Testament Narrative." *Ibid.*, pp. 34-41.

A proposal to establish some valid tests for the discovery of folk-lore in the Old Testament.

JASTROW, MORRIS, JR. *Rô'eh and Hôzeh in the Old Testament. Ibid.*, pp. 42-56.

A careful study of these two Hebrew words for "seer," which finds its conclusion in the proposition that the "prophet" was distinguished from both of these classes by the fact that prophecy was not dependent upon "external means of divining the will and intention of the gods."

KELSO, J. A. *The Unity of the Sanctuary in the Light of the Elephantine Papyri. Ibid.*, pp. 71-81.

The author concludes that the Jews of Elephantine knew nothing at all of the existence of any law prohibiting the building of altars and shrines anywhere except at Jerusalem. The Deuteronomic law had not yet penetrated thither.

NEW TESTAMENT

BOOKS

ABBOTT, EDWIN A. *The Message of the Son of Man.* London: A. & C. Black, 1909. Pp. xxii+166. 4s. 6d.

Dr. Abbott's extraordinary style and method are well known from his seven volumes of *Diatessarica*, or studies in the gospels. In the present volume, he sets forth an extended summary of the evidence for the meaning of the term "Son of Man" in the prophets, the later Jewish literature, and the New Testament. He follows this with "A Harmony of the Facts" in ten short chapters. The learning and originality of the discussions are undeniable. In general, Dr. Abbott's contention is that Jesus' use of the term is in line with that of the prophets, rather than with that of later literature; and that he persistently used the term to fix attention upon the divine image in which man had been made, and which he sought to restore in all men, by the Spirit of God.

ROBERTSON, A. T. *A Short Grammar of the Greek New Testament*. New York:

Armstrong, 1909. Pp. xxix+240. \$1.50.

Professor Robertson's *Grammar* has been favorably received in many quarters, and is already out in a second edition. Many questionable positions set forth in the first edition still stand: "There are three possible kinds of statement: definite, doubting, commanding;" "The Greek has two modes for doubting affirmation, the subjunctive and the optative;" "They are really different forms of the same mode, the mode of hesitating affirmation;" "There is no sequence of tenses in Greek, but a sequence of modes;" "The optative is not alone wish or will." The imperative is described as "commanding statement." This is to ignore the best recent work in historical syntax, and to introduce a novel terminology of very little meaning. That the subjunctive is essentially hesitating and that the optative expresses will, are statements wide of the mark. "Ἰδὼς outside of *ἰδὼς* and *κατ' ἰδὼς* has the article uniformly as *οὗτος ἰδὼς* (John 1:11)." But compare Acts 13:36; 28:30; I Cor. 7:7; 9:7; 15:38; Gal. 6:9; I Tim. 6:15; Tit. 1:3, which violate this uniformity. In substantive clauses "Μὴ in the best documents is found only with the subjunctive in the New Testament" (p. 153). But see Col. 2:8. In the treatment of final clauses with *μήπως*, in which the Hort and Nestle texts are tacitly set aside, *μήπως* is said to be "used with the aorist indicative to express a design about a past event" (p. 152), and Gal. 2:2 and I Thess. 3:5 are cited. But the feeling of these clauses is not purpose but fear. The inclusion of the imperfect among "principal parts" is hardly intelligent. Matt. 7:22 is misquoted as *ἐν τῷ σῶ ὀνόματι* (p. 76). In short we miss throughout the clear analysis and the precise and discriminating statement so necessary in grammatical work.

DÄHNARDT, OSKAR. *Natursagen: Eine Sammlung Naturdeutender Sagen, Märchen, Fabeln, und Legenden. Band II: Sagen zum Neuen Testament*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1909. Pp. xii+316.

A valuable collection from a wide range of folk-lore, of nature-legends which have attached themselves to New Testament incidents. The whole is an interesting witness to the influence and free handling of the New Testament among the mediaeval peasantry.

LEWIS, AGNES SMITH. *Codex Climaci Rescriptus. Fragments of Sixth-Century Palestinian Texts of the Gospels, Acts, and St. Paul's Epistles. Also Fragments of an Early Palestinian Lectionary of the Old Testament, etc. With seven facsimiles. (Horae Semiticae VIII.)* Cambridge: University Press, 1909. Pp. xxxi+201. \$3.50.

From early Syriac palimpsests in her possession, Mrs. Lewis publishes considerable parts of the Old and New Testaments in the Palestinian Syriac version, which it is now becoming clear covered substantially the whole Bible. Valuable new textual and canonical materials are supplied by this scholarly publication.

ARTICLES

WINDISCH, HANS. *Der Apokalyptiker Johannes als Begründer der neutestamentlichen Kanons. Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, X (1909), 2, pp. 148-74.

The Apocalypse is declared the germ of the New Testament canon, since it was the earliest Christian book to claim scriptural authority for itself, and thus to familiarize early Christians with the notion of a distinctively Christian Scripture.

RELATED SUBJECTS

BOOKS

MÜNSTERBURG, HUGO. *The Eternal Values*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1909. Pp. xv+436. \$2.50.

An effort to demonstrate the existence of certain absolute values, that is values that hold good always and everywhere, being independent of personal volitions. The

point of view is diametrically opposed to that of the prevailing pragmatic school of philosophers. Only those schooled in philosophic and metaphysical reasoning will find the book intelligible, and they will declare its method unphilosophical. The book is really a statement of the author's personal convictions regarding the construction of the moral universe.

BELLELI, L. *An Independent Examination of the Assuan and Elephantine Aramaic Papyri*. With eleven plates and two appendices on sundry items. London: Luzac & Co., 1909. Pp. 402. \$1.80.

An attempt to prove the famous papyri nothing but a forgery. Few scholars will be convinced by it, notwithstanding the author's labor and ingenuity. The book is marred by poor proofreading and poor taste.



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Editorial

THE MODERNISM OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

THE MAKERS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

The Christian public has so long been accustomed to the existence and use of the Bible, that it is difficult for the average man to put himself, even in imagination, back into the time before the Bible came into being. Yet there was true religion even then. The Old Testament was the product of religion, not its producer. It was primarily effect, not cause. Holy men in times past spake as they were moved by the Holy Spirit, and a partial result was the Old Testament. But the good men preceded the good Book, and the latter would have been impossible apart from the former.

The prophets of Israel had no Bible. They made Scripture as they went along. Their mighty sermons were not expositions of texts, but interpretations of life. Never in Israel was religious progress made with such rapidity and splendor as under their guidance. Whence came the materials of their preaching? In part, from the past history of their nation, preserved for them in more or less incomplete form in the traditions handed down by the fathers from age to age. But in far larger part, from a contemplation of the seething world of their own day. They brooded over its problems; they experienced its suffering; they rebuked its sins; they appreciated its aspirations; they voiced its deepest longings, and formulated its unspoken ideals. They conceived their task to be that of interpreting the world from Jehovah's point of view. They sought to vindicate the supreme place of religion in life. They strove to give the world religious meaning and value. They faced the world with convictions about God and righteousness and by faith they overcame the world.

Notwithstanding apparently insuperable obstacles, they claimed the world for God, and made good their claim to the satisfaction of the faithful.

THE OLD TESTAMENT A RECORD OF ISRAEL'S RELIGIOUS
EXPERIENCE

The Old Testament contains the substance of their teachings and those of their successors. It constitutes thus the record of Israel's choicest religious experience through a period of approximately one thousand years. As "the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns," so Israel's religious needs changed from age to age. She was brought into closer and closer contact with the great world-powers. Her horizon was consequently widened economically, politically, intellectually. The simple life of the nomad became more and more complex with every decade. The currents and counter-currents of oriental civilization brought enrichment to Israel on every hand. The naïve simplicity and wonder of the child gave place to the maturity and wisdom of the full-grown man. Narrow provincialism was compelled by circumstances to make way for world-views. Religion and theology must needs keep pace with the advance along other lines. Clarity of vision in things secular cannot long go hand in hand with obscurantism in things religious. The task of Israel's religious leaders, therefore, was to keep Israel's religious consciousness up to date. The Old Testament is the record of their response to Israel's ever-changing religious needs.

This record clearly shows that Israel's thinkers were not in bondage to tradition. They faced the problems of their times as free men. They did not disdain to learn from the past, indeed; but, on the contrary, strove to conserve all that was good in their heritage. Yet they hesitated not to break with the past when necessary to the maintenance of the vitality of their religion. Ideas that had had their day were cast aside to make room for new ones when advancing knowledge and deepening experience showed them to be no longer tenable. Many examples of such procedure are afforded in the pages of the Old Testament. The narrative in Samuel represents Jehovah as having moved David to take a census of Israel for which he then afflicts Israel with a deadly plague. But the teaching that Jehovah

punished Israel for having committed a sin to which he himself had incited their king proved incompatible with the growing ethical sense of Israel. Hence in the Chronicler's narrative, which assumed form centuries later, the initial impulse toward the census is traced back to Satan rather than to Jehovah. Jehu's slaughter of the adherents of Baal received the enthusiastic indorsement of the zealous Jehovah-worshippers contemporary with him; but a later age, revolting against such bloodthirsty measures even in behalf of the true religion, voices its protest in the judgment pronounced upon the house of Jehu for this act by the prophet Hosea. The doctrine of the inviolability of Jerusalem as the city of Jehovah's sanctuary, which in Isaiah's hands did good service in behalf of courage and faith, is unsparingly denounced by Jeremiah as a fetish destructive of all real spiritual and ethical religion. The teaching that all suffering and calamity are due to sin, is one upon which great stress was laid by the prophets, together with many of the psalmists as well as the sages who gathered the Book of Proverbs. This doctrine is directly and forcefully attacked in the Book of Job, where whatever else may or may not be taught, it is at least shown that piety and prosperity are not interchangeable terms. Thus the teachers of Israel met the questions of the times untrammelled by the fetters of the past. Loyal to the spirit of their predecessors and profiting immeasurably by their rich experiences, they set about their work with zeal and courage confident that the God who had guided, stimulated, and strengthened the fathers would not fail their children in the time of need. He who had spoken in the past was equally ready to speak in the present, for was he not the ever-living God and ever-loving Father?

THE BIBLE AND THE MODERN WORLD

Herein lies food for thought. Is not the Old Testament attitude toward the past with its treasures and the present with its problems the right one even yet? Is not the task of today essentially the task of all time, past, present, and future? We have our world to which we must give religious value even as the prophets found it for theirs. Are not the raw materials of our religious evaluation the same in essence as theirs—a heritage from the experience of our predecessors plus the contents of our own distinctive experience? Others have

labored and we have entered into their labors. We have a goodly heritage. The treasures of experience stored up for our use have never before been equaled. But this surely does not excuse us from the obligation to add to our inheritance and to pass it on enhanced in value to our successors. The achievements of the past must not lie like leaden weights upon the spirit of the present, but must lend wings to thought and give eager expectancy to life.

Is not all this true of religion in general and of the Bible in particular? The religious experience of the past, whether inside or outside of the Bible, is of value to us in proportion as we can reaffirm it in our own experience and supplement it from our own life. We must come in contact with the great realities of life for ourselves directly and immediately. We cannot live upon the experience of others, no matter how great and good they may have been. Not even Scripture may absolve us from the necessity of thinking our way to God for ourselves. It may indicate for us the way which our fathers trod, but we must tread it too. It may give us their interpretation of their world, but we must interpret our own world. This is the ever-present task of faith. Such contact with reality is death to hypocrisy and cant. Only so are genuine enthusiasm and serious devotion to the interests of the kingdom of God within our reach.

Shall we then cast aside our Bibles? God forbid! As well might the philosopher discard the long history of human thought and attempt to start *de novo*, or the mariner burn his maps and charts and smash his compass. Here is an invaluable record of man's search after God and of his progress toward the ever-receding goal of ideal manhood. Here is inspiration and hope for all succeeding generations. As our forefathers hurled themselves into the struggle in behalf of truth, righteousness, and God, so will we. As they won their triumphs in the strength of God, so shall we. As they treasured the records of the experience of their predecessors as their most precious possession, so will we in turn treasure theirs and hand on to our children, if God will, an enriched inheritance.

THE GREEK PAPYRI AND THE NEW TESTAMENT

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I

Few discoveries in recent years have awakened more widespread interest than the countless papyrus documents that have been recovered from the sands of Egypt. Some of these have been found among the ruins of ancient temples and houses; others have formed part of the cartonnage in which crocodile mummies were enveloped; but far the largest number have come from the rubbish-heaps on the outskirts of the towns or villages, to which they had been consigned as waste paper instead of being burnt as among ourselves. Of the Greek papyri, with which alone at present we are concerned, the earliest dated document is a marriage-contract of the year 311-310 B. C., and from that date they extend throughout the Ptolemaic and Roman periods far down into Byzantine times. Their special interest, however, for the student of the New Testament may be said to stop with the close of the third or fourth century after Christ; but before proceeding to notice their significance in this direction, it may be well to say something of the material of which they are composed, and the history of their discovery.

That material, as their name denotes, was papyrus, so called from the papyrus-plant, from which it was derived by a process of which the elder Pliny has left a classical account and which has been successfully imitated in recent times. The pith of the stem was cut into long strips, which were laid down vertically to form a lower or outer layer. Over this a second layer was placed, the strips this time running horizontally. And then the two layers were fastened and pressed together to form a single sheet, the process being assisted by a preparation of glue moistened, where possible, with the turbid water of the Nile, which was supposed to add strength to it. After being dried in the sun, the surface was carefully smoothed with ivory or a shell, and was then ready for use.

The side preferred for writing purposes was as a rule that on which the fibers lay horizontally, or the *recto*, as it is technically called, but this did not prevent a frequent subsequent use of the *verso*, or back. Official documents in particular, which were no longer required, were frequently turned to other purposes, the original writing being either crossed or washed out, as when we find a private letter written over an effaced notice of a death, or the *verso* of an old taxing-list serving a schoolmaster and his pupil for a writing-lesson.

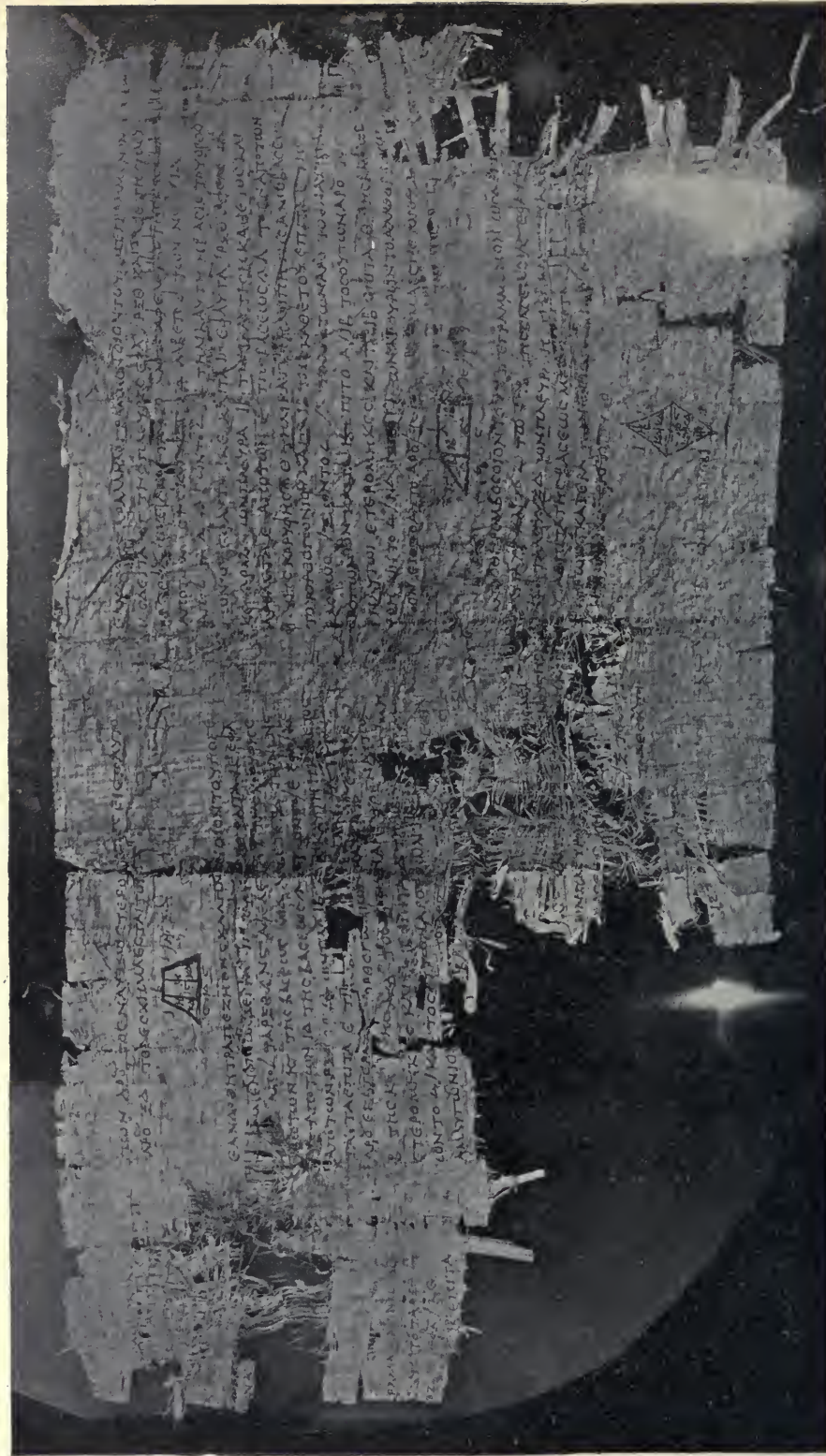
The size and character of these sheets naturally varied considerably with the quality of the papyrus from which they were formed, but for non-literary documents a very common size was from 5 to 5½ inches in width, and 9 to 11 inches in length. Where more space was required, this was easily obtained by joining a number of sheets together to form a roll—a roll of twenty sheets, which could be cut up or divided at will, being apparently a common size for selling purposes. But this was a mere matter of convenience, and smaller quantities were easily procurable on demand. The price paid was naturally determined by the size and nature of the paper provided, and in view of our ignorance on these points, the few figures that are available do not give much guidance. But it is clear that papyrus was by no means a cheap commodity, and this helps to explain the frequent use of the *verso* already referred to, and the difficulty which the poor often experienced in procuring the necessary material for writing, as when the writer of a letter from the Fayûm, now in the Berlin collection, adds on the back of a communication to his brother regarding various agricultural matters: "Please send me some unwritten paper, that I may be able to write a letter."¹

In itself papyrus is a very durable material, when not exposed to the action of damp, and it is consequently owing to the singularly dry climate of Egypt that these documents have been preserved in such large numbers there, while they have almost wholly disappeared

¹ *Berlin Griechische Urkunden*, III, 137 f.; No. 522 (iii, A. D.): καὶ [ἐὰν] σοὶ φανῇ, πέμψον μοι ἀγριφὸν χάρτην, ἵνα εὐρο[με]ν ἐπιστολ[ήν] γράψαι. The interchange of the singular and plural in this request should be noted, as illustrating the occurrence of this epistolary plural in later Greek, a fact that has an important bearing upon the interpretation of various passages in the Pauline epistles.

elsewhere. The earliest discoveries took place in 1778 at Gizeh, where the *jellaheen* produced a chest containing about fifty papyri. As, however, purchasers were not forthcoming, all these, except one now in the Museum at Naples, were destroyed—for the sake, so it is said, of the aromatic smell they gave forth in burning. No further discoveries are reported for about twenty years, after which we hear of various sporadic finds, more particularly at Saqqârah, the ancient Memphis. But it was not until 1877, when several thousand documents, of widely different characters and dates, were unearthed among the ruins of Crocodopolis, or Arsinoe, the old capital of the Fayûm district, that public attention was fully awakened to the far-reaching importance of the new discoveries. From that time the work of exploration has gone steadily on, and collections have been formed in the most important libraries in Europe and America, these collections being named either from the locality where the texts were first discovered, as e. g., the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, or from the place where they are now preserved, as the *British Museum* or *Chicago Papyri*, or in a few instances from their owners, as the *Amherst* or the *Reinach Papyri*. The difficulty of deciphering these frail, and often sadly mutilated, papyrus leaves is of course very great, and is at present engaging the attention and patience of many of our leading scholars; but how much still remains to be done before even the existing materials can be made available for the ordinary student is proved by Professor Grenfell's statement last year that of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, stored in Queen's College, Oxford, only about one-sixth had then been deciphered.

Of the papyrus documents, which are now in our hands, a comparatively small number, about six hundred in all, are literary, of which about one-fourth supply us with texts not previously known. Among these is what can claim to be the oldest Greek literary MS in existence, a poem of Timotheus of Miletus, dating from the fourth century before Christ, while fragments of Homeric and other texts, belonging to the succeeding century, are still some thirteen hundred years older than the generality of Greek MSS. Other new texts embrace fragments of Sappho, the *Paeans* of Pindar, the lost *Constitution of Athens* by Aristotle, and the *Odes* of Bacchylides. And as showing that surprises in this direction are by no means exhausted,



GEOMETRICAL PROCESSES ca. 100 A. D.
(The Ayer Papyrus)

the last two volumes of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (V, VI, both 1908) contain respectively a new history of 396-5 B. C., variously ascribed to Theopompus or Cratippus, and large fragments of the *Hypsipyle* of Euripides, from a papyrus of the second or early third century.²

To the New Testament student, however, the main interest of the finds centers not in the literary, but in the non-literary papyri. The number of these cannot be stated with any degree of exactness, but they may certainly be reckoned by tens, if not hundreds, of thousands. And their variety is as remarkable as their number. The larger portion consist of official or semi-official documents, such as the reports of judicial proceedings, petitions, census and property returns, wills, contracts, and so forth. But there are also a large number of private letters which, like all true letters, are often of the most self-revealing character, and throw the clearest light upon the whole domestic and social relationships of the people.³ Not, indeed, that the actual contents of these letters are often of any special interest. Their authors, whether they write with their own hands, or, through "not knowing letters," avail themselves of the services of a professional scribe, are as a rule content to state the matter on hand as briefly and baldly as possible, while the lengthy introductions and closing greetings with their constantly recurring formal and stereotyped phrases, produce a general effect of monotony.⁴ At the same time, it is impossible not to feel the arresting charms of these veritable *documents humains*, written with no thought of any other public than those to whom they were originally addressed, and on that very account calling up before our minds, as more elaborate documents could never have done, the persons alike of their senders and recipients.

² See further Dr. F. G. Kenyon's useful article on "The Greek Papyri" in the *Quarterly Review*, April, 1908, pp. 333-55.

³ A convenient edition of these letters, so far as they belong to the Ptolemaic period, is provided by Witkowski, *Epistulae Privatae Graecae* (Teubner, Leipzig, 1906).

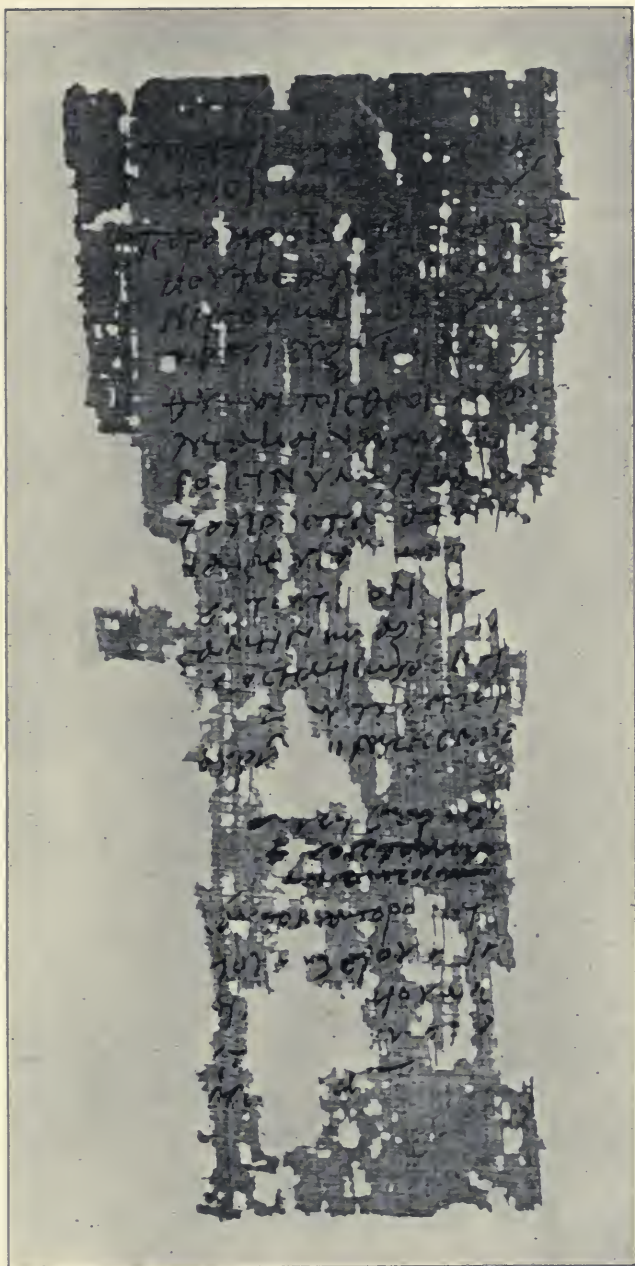
⁴ In a letter, for example, of the second century (*Berlin Gr. Urk.*, II, 245, No. 601) the closing greetings, which are conveyed from a number of persons, occupy no less than 13 out of the 31 lines of which the letter consists; and similarly in one of the letters addressed to the military prefect Abinnaeus, in the middle of the fourth century, the writer takes up nearly one-half of his short communication with personal greetings to his "lord and patron"—"almost as generous a scale as in a Pauline epistle" (Kenyon, *Brit. Mus. Papyri*, II, 305).

The significance of the non-literary papyri is, however, very far from being exhausted by this merely personal interest. They put the paleographers, for example, in possession of a continuous chain of documents extending over a period of about a thousand years, by means of which many old errors can be corrected, and the whole history of book-production before the adoption of vellum put in a new and striking light.⁵

Nor to the historian is their value in any way less remarkable. If it be the case, as we have been recently assured, that it was the want of adequate "records" that prevented the Greeks themselves from being the founders of scientific history, that is certainly no longer the fate of anyone who seeks to reconstruct the internal condition of Graeco-Roman Egypt. Contemporary documents, whose genuineness is incontestable, now lie before him in such abundance that their very number constitutes one of his greatest difficulties, and it will need much careful sifting and comparison before their results can be fully appreciated. These results cannot of course be entered upon just now, but one or two points may be noticed, as indicating the nature of the light which they throw on the historical background of the New Testament and of early Christianity.

Thus, who can fail to recognize the importance of having the "enrolment" of Luke 2:1, 2 illustrated by the recovery of a large number of similar enrolments or census-returns, known by the same name (*ἀπογραφαί*)? Various particulars regarding these returns may still be doubtful, but it may be taken as established that they followed a cycle of fourteen years, and that in all probability they originated with Augustus, perhaps as early as 10-9 B. C., points which must be kept in view in attempting to fix the exact year of our Lord's birth. Nor is this all, but recently there has been found among the British Museum papyri a rescript of a Roman prefect

⁵ See e. g. the skilful use of the evidence of the Berlin papyrus-collection made by W. Schubart in his recent study on *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern* (Berlin, 1907). Those who are beginning the study of the papyri may also like to be referred to another "Handbuch" in the same series, *Aus den Papyrus der Königlichen Museen*, by A. Erman and F. Krebs (Berlin, 1899), where German translations are given of various typical documents. The Greek texts of eleven documents have been printed by Lietzmann as No. 14 of his *Kleine Texte*. An edition has been brought out in England by Deighton, Bell & Co., Cambridge, and is procurable for a few pence.



CERTIFICATE OF CONFORMITY, A. D. 250
(*Libellus Libellaticus*)

containing an order for all persons who happened to be residing out of their own districts to return at once in view of the census about to be held in the seventh year of Trōjan (103-4 A. D.), so that it is clear that Herod, when he issued his similar order in Palestine, was not acting on his own initiative, but in obedience to instructions from Rome, as St. Luke's narrative clearly implies. The relevant passage in the new rescript is so short and so interesting that it may be quoted in full:

Gaius Vibius Maximus, prefect of Egypt [says]: Seeing that the time has come for the house-to-house census, it is necessary to compel those who for any cause whatsoever are residing out of their homes (or districts) to return to their own homes, that they may both carry out the regular order of the census, and may also attend diligently to the cultivation of their allotments.⁶

When too in the striking, though somewhat obscure, account of a process before the prefect in 85 A. D. we find the magistrate releasing the prisoner in deference to the wishes of the multitude,⁷ or in the summary of a trial are confronted with the speech of the prosecuting counsel,⁸ it is impossible not to recall what took place in the case of our Lord (Matt. 15:15), and of St. Paul (Acts 24:2 ff.). Or, to pass to a later period in the history of the church, while the persecution of the Christians under Decius, and the consequent demand for *libelli*, or certificates of conformity to the state religion, were previously well known, it is surely a great gain to be able to look upon actual specimens of these *libelli*, attested by the signatures of the *libellatici* themselves, and certified by the commissioner that had been appointed to examine them. "Not only," testifies a certain Aurelius Diogenes in one of these *libelli* to those chosen to superintend the sacrifices, "have I always continued sacrificing to the gods, but now also in your presence in accordance with the decrees I have sacrificed and poured libations and tasted the offerings, and I request you to countersign my statement." The request is granted in the words, "I, Aurelius Syrus, as a participant, have certified Diogenes as sacrificing along with us."⁹

⁶ *British Museum Papyri*, III, 124 ff.

⁷ *Papiri Fiorentini*, I, 113 ff., No. 61, ll. 61 f.: χαρίζομαι δέ σε τοῖς ἑχλοῖς.

⁸ E. g., *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, I, 79 ff., No. 37—the report of a lawsuit regarding the custody of a child, which curiously recalls in certain particulars the judgment of Solomon.

⁹ *Berlin Gr. Urk.*, I, 282, No. 287.

RELIGION AND MORALITY IN THE SUNDAY SCHOOL

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The United States contains 24 million children of school age (5-18 years). The Sunday schools of the United States, 140,000 in number, enrol $13\frac{1}{2}$ million members. Of these, $1\frac{1}{2}$ million are teachers, the remaining 12 million (excluding members of adult classes) are boys and girls. Approximately one-half, therefore, of all our children are enrolled as pupils in our Sunday schools. This makes clear to us the opportunity of the Sunday school as an institution for instructing and training the men and women of tomorrow.

The Sunday school is one of the modern agencies for education. It began in England in 1780 A. D., and was introduced into America about one hundred years ago. Its rise and growth belong to the modern movement on behalf of the children, to understand them and to provide for them a suitable, adequate education. The founders of the Sunday school were Christians, and members of churches; they built up the Sunday school as an adjunct to the church, as the juvenile department of the church. For the church up to this time had done little directly for the children beyond teaching them the catechism and "confirming" them or taking them into membership at adolescence. It was assumed that the home could and would do all that was needed for the children in the way of religious and moral instruction and training. But through the past century it became increasingly clear that the home was leaving much undone, and that a part of the religious and moral instruction and training of the children could better be given by teachers than by parents, and with the children in social groups.

An additional reason for the growth and importance of the Sunday school is the fact that the public schools have been concentrating their work upon intellectual training, and are just now doing less than formerly to develop the moral and religious qualities of the child. The national educational system of the United States, at the opening

of the twentieth century, had almost completely and professedly left to the home and to the Sunday school the direct, systematic moral and religious education of the children. The explanation was that the public school had all that it could do to furnish the intellectual instruction and training. Now, the foremost educators agree that such a distinction of function and division of labor is impracticable and unwise, partly because moral and religious education are more important than intellectual education, partly because it is obvious that the home and the Sunday school are not doing all that is needed for all the children, and partly because education is a unitary process which can best be carried on organically, the moral, religious, intellectual, and physical training being given together, so that the whole child is reached all the time. The National Education Association, therefore, in 1905, officially declared:

The ultimate object of popular education is to teach the children how to live righteously, healthily, and happily; to accomplish this object it is essential that every school inculcate the love of truth, justice, purity, and beauty through the study of biography, history, ethics, natural history, music, drawing, and manual arts. . . . The building of character is the real aim of the schools, and the ultimate reason for the expenditure of millions for their maintenance.

This idea of the function of the public schools is certainly right, and the best schoolmen are already reshaping their school methods to accomplish the supreme end of character and good citizenship in the boys and girls of America. When the public schools generally shall have adopted this aim, shall have made the necessary adjustments in the subject-matter and methods of their educational process, and shall have secured teachers who are competent and skilful for the ethical instruction and training of children, then the responsibility of the Sunday school in this essential matter will be lessened. Note, I do not say ended. The public school will be a most useful ally, because it will reach the children with its ethical instruction and training five days in the week, and five hours in the day. But even then the mission of the Sunday school will not have ceased, for the Sunday school teaches religion as well as ethics, and the relation between religion and ethics—two things which the public schools decline to teach, because they are state schools separate from the church.

Meanwhile, the public schools will require many years to embrace the newly defined ethical aim, and to make the necessary transformation. So that the Sunday school must still for years carry the chief responsibility—next to the home—of giving the children appropriate and adequate moral instruction and training along with their religious education.

In fact, the Sunday schools now include four educational elements in their total process—religion, theology, the Bible, and ethics. Not only do the Sunday schools aim to give instruction in all four of these subjects, but they also seek to give something of the four in combination at every session. The method in the average Sunday school is to use some passage of the Scriptures as a text or basis of class study, and from it to instruct the children in some Bible history and teaching, some religious ideas and feelings, some theological doctrine, and some moral principles which by exposition and application are fitted to the daily life of the children. The particular proportions of the four elements in the mixture, the interrelation of these elements, the correctness or usefulness of the teaching given, depend chiefly upon the teacher—or, if the teacher is without individual method, it depends upon the “lesson help” which the teacher employs.

The average Sunday-school teacher has a limited and imperfect knowledge of religion, theology, the Bible, and ethics. Each subject of the four has had a long history, each is the outcome of a long process of development, each is the product of human experience and reflection. One cannot really know religion or theology, or the Bible, or ethics without knowing men—not a few men, not contemporary men only, but mankind. To know mankind is the goal of our largest study, particularly in the college and the university. It is in our higher institutions of learning that knowledge of religion, theology, the Bible, and ethics is to be acquired. What proportion of our million and a half Sunday-school teachers are graduates of colleges? And of these graduates, how many of them have become competent students and teachers of these four subjects? The teachers in our Sunday schools are aware of their deficiencies and are very humble about them. Few persons put themselves forward to teach; generally the teachers are drafted for service by the minister or superintendent, and the minister or superintendent must take whom he can

get, with a small range of choice. Certainly the Sunday schools are well worth while, even with these non-professional and moderately equipped teachers, who—notwithstanding their limitations—are doing a great and vital work for the children. If the impartation of knowledge was the main purpose of the school, they could not succeed so well; but the real purpose is the development of character, the building-up of high ideals, the instilling of principles of true living, the cultivating of right feelings and motives, the development of a sound conscience, a clear insight, and a capable judgment. The Sunday schools do not commonly assume to give systematic historical, scientific, or philosophical knowledge of the subjects they deal with. The teacher aims, rather, to bring to bear upon the child its religious and moral environment, to impart her ideals, sentiments, habits, and enthusiasm, to awaken and develop the moral and religious nature of the child, to talk over helpfully with the boys and girls the concrete problems of their lives, to cultivate the social interest and spirit among the members of the class and within the school. The more efficient teacher adds to the influence which she exerts over the children on Sunday morning, a constant influence through the week, finding many ways in which to make her influence continuous, and to have a varied personal relationship with her little friends. The Sunday-school workers have been wise in not attempting much systematic formal instruction, first, because the children need nurture more, and second, because these teachers have neither the time nor the equipment for furnishing the children with what we would technically call knowledge.

Nevertheless, the Sunday-school children do imbibe and assume a set of ideas about God, and the world, and men, and sin, and salvation, and Bible events, and Bible persons, and Bible teachings, and miracles, and prayer, and duty, which either go with them through life, or are later with great difficulty and emotion changed. How can the teacher keep her pupils from contracting imperfect intellectual conceptions while she is aiming to help them chiefly in the region of the feelings and the will? By seeing to it that her own intellectual conceptions, which form the foundation of her teaching, are the best possible. The boys and girls will surely contract her theology, her idea of the Bible, her view of the world, her idea of miracles and

prayer, even when she feels incompetent in these matters and does not intend to teach about them. Neither in her thinking nor in her teaching can she differentiate religion from theology or religion from ethics. Religion, theology, the Bible, and ethics must all go together, so far as she is concerned and the children. An extraordinary teacher might be so good a student of these four subjects, and so competent pedagogically, as to be able to keep her pupils from getting many wrong ideas and perspectives, but this cannot be expected of the average Sunday-school teacher, who is apt to have just the commonly received, conventional ideas. It therefore results that when these Sunday-school boys and girls become young men and women, go to college, and pursue studies of a scientific sort, in a scientific way, they are astonished at the littleness, the naïveté, the conventionalism, and the inadequacy of the religious, theological, biblical, and ethical ideas with which they find their minds furnished. Then comes the process of changing these child ideas for mature ones, these popular conceptions for scientific ones. The college years, and the years immediately following, are apt to be darkened with religious and ethical uncertainty, mental distress, emotional disturbance, and groping about for a world-view which will accord with knowledge and experience.

Now, the child cannot think the thoughts of the man. Therefore this kind of adjustment cannot be wholly escaped. But we should clear the way as well as possible, so that the transition shall be made normally and readily. Many think our Sunday schools retard and make difficult the maturing process by excessive theological instruction at too early an age, by accustoming the child to unscientific ideas of things, by literalistic and allegorizing interpretations of the Bible, by disregarding the relativity of our knowledge and the symbolism and temporalism of our religious language, and by lack of the historical sense and judgment. The Sunday-school instruction and training should be of such a kind that the children will be taught or will contract as little as possible of what will have to be discarded or changed when they become grown. Schools should have a deliberate plan to this effect, should arrange their work with this end in view, and should secure teachers who can meet the situation.

Further, the pressing problems of Sunday-school curriculum and

method require that we should proceed to distinguish, evaluate, and relate the four elements of Sunday-school education: religion, theology, the Bible, and ethics. There is real confusion of thought about these things, and one needs a good deal of skilful assistance to find his way out. Scholars themselves have only recently become clear as to the meaning and value of religion, theology, the Bible, and ethics; indeed, some phases of the matter are still in dispute even in scientific circles. I will attempt to distinguish them.

Religion is the commonly accepted term to denote our feelings and ideas about God and our relation to him—how we can please him, how we can gain his favor, how we can obtain forgiveness for our shortcomings and transgressions, how we can secure his help when in need. Recognizing our smallness, our weakness, our sinfulness, and our dependence, we reach out to Him who made the universe and created us, that we may not be alone and apart from Him, that we may not be overwhelmed or destroyed by the mighty forces which surround us and attack us. In religion we commune with the Universal One; we find wholeness for our feeling, thinking, and living; we overcome our finiteness by uniting ourselves to the Infinite. We enter into the attitude of making his will our own, we commit ourselves to a perfect obedience, we devote ourselves to the doing of his work. As Christians our religious ideas are largely derived from Jesus, whom we regard as the world's greatest teacher of religion. He taught men to think of God as the Creator and Director of the universe whose will is supreme and whose purpose for the world is to be completely accomplished. He is a loving Father who cares for all his children, forgives their sins, bestows many blessings upon them, and offers them a perfect future salvation.

Theology is an intellectual effort to apprehend the universe and human life in terms of a personal God, and to formulate definitions and statements concerning all the essential terms and concepts involved in the undertaking. Theology endeavors to explain the religious consciousness and experience of men in accordance with the current philosophical world-view, and in language which will be intelligible to its own time and constituency. Theology seeks to fathom the mysteries of the universe, to get at the how and why of things, to learn the origin, constitution, and destiny of mankind, to

account for and elucidate the existing world-order, and to forecast the future. Theology is the pursuit of those who by spiritual insight, religious experience, mental ability, and historical and scientific learning are qualified to work with the great intellectual problems that confront us at every turn. The product of Christian theological study is contained in the great theological treatises and in the creeds of the church, from the first century until our own.

The Bible is a library of ancient religious and moral literature. The 66 books comprised in this collection were written between the eighth century B. C. and the second century A. D.—a period of approximately one thousand years. The 39 Old Testament books were (nearly all) written in Palestine, by a series of Hebrew-Jewish authors living at various periods within seven centuries. The 27 New Testament books were written in Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy, by a series of Christian writers, some of whom were by nationality Jews and some gentiles, during a period of about one hundred years—from the middle of the first to the middle of the second century A. D. The Bible books were written for the purpose of religious and moral instruction; they were the work of prophets, sages, and apostles, all of whom were preachers of God and his will for men; and these writings were a part of their ministry, intended to teach religion and morality. The historical events they narrate, the historical persons they depict, the historical messages they include, were used by the authors as material of religious and moral instruction, to convey, illustrate, and enforce the teaching they themselves would give as to how men should feel, think, and act—right living was the thing they were after. The value of these biblical books, which have come down to us out of the ancient and oriental world, is partly historical and partly literary, but chiefly moral-religious, because this was their primary interest and intent. Their authors were men who faced the problems of life, who saw deep, straight, and clear into the eternal realities, and who set forth the principles by which men should live. Their faith, ideas, precepts, and conduct are helpful to us in determining what our faith, ideas, precepts, and conduct shall be because they trod this path before us and made valuable discoveries of truth.

Ethics has to do with the ideals, principles, and precepts of individual and social right living. Ethics shows the way to character

and efficiency. Ethics is the science of conduct, meaning by "conduct" not only the acts but the feelings, choices, and purposes behind the acts. Ethics furnishes the description and rationale and imperative of right. It interprets human duty for concrete situations and for specific individuals and groups. It leads men to the achievement of well-being. Ethics and religion overlap, for religion, too, sets forth what a man must be and do. Religion, too, enjoins and defines righteousness. The terms, "ethics" and "morality," came into use among the Greeks and Romans when their thinkers began to differentiate life from religion, because the religion of their day was obsolete and unable to meet the practical needs of humanity. In modern times the science of ethics has arisen, and stands independent of religion. It sets forth ideals, precepts, and obligations as laws of the universe, as biological and sociological principles. Religion presents human duty as the will of God; ethics presents human duty as the reasonable way to live. Religion classically rests its exposition of God's will on a supernatural revelation; ethics bases its claims and its message upon the cumulative experience of the race and the gradual determination of what is right and obligatory under specific conditions. "Christian morality" or "Christian ethics" is an interpretation of human duty set in the religious ideas of Christianity. The teaching of Jesus presented righteousness as the will of God, and summed it up in love to God and man. The Christian church, by reason of its foundation in Jesus, teaches men what they should be and do in terms of religion; the obligation to know and obey the will of God arises from our relation to him as Sovereign of the world in which he has given us existence. The Sunday school, following the custom of the church, teaches "Christian morality" or "Christian ethics" rather than "Ethics." Even in our colleges the situation is often the same, for the science of ethics is a recently established department of thought and investigation—it could not get far until the developmental world-view had become the accepted philosophy. And it can only be found now in first-class institutions where the scientific method controls. It is therefore too much to expect that the science of ethics should have made its way into the Sunday schools, where everything proceeds upon a religious basis.

If, now, the characterization of these four subjects has been made

with approximate accuracy, what is the relative value of each for Sunday-school purposes, and how are they to be used—singly and in interrelation—to accomplish the religious and moral education of our boys and girls?

Let us put the thing in this way:

1. Does the Sunday school primarily exist to instruct the children of the church in the body of Christian doctrine? Is it the cosmological and theological ideas of the Westminster Catechism, or some similar digest of the creeds and formulae of the church, that we most wish the boys and girls to learn? Is so much theology useful to the young? Can they understand and assimilate it? They need some simple religious ideas to serve them until they can think things through for themselves; but do they need, or can they grasp and use, a full set of doctrines? Only adult persons can comprehend and make use of the creeds, and not all of the adults succeed in doing so. The doctrines of the church are the intellectual product and deposit of the eminent theologians of Christian history, in their effort to apprehend, formulate, and explain the religious experience with which they are familiar. These theological conceptions differ as the framers of them differ. The historical student of Christian doctrine can see the sources from which the doctrines were drawn, the philosophical framework on which they were constructed, the psychological processes that produced them, and the practical ends which they were put forth to serve. Doctrine is thus seen to be man's way of understanding God, life, the world; and the conceptions of these things grow, change, and develop with human progress. Doctrine is not static, but developmental; it undergoes modification and improvement along with other branches of knowledge. Would it be better to postpone systematic and elaborate instruction in Christian doctrine to the years of manhood and womanhood, when one shall have studied history, philosophy, psychology, ethics, and sociology and shall therefore be able to understand the history of doctrine, and shall have an equipment for judging what doctrine is true and useful? Neither children nor adolescents are in a stage where this is possible. To them had best be suggested, in no rigid form and without claim of finality, some very simple and fundamental religious ideas, these ideas to be subject to their reconsideration and revision farther on when

the right time comes. What the boy or girl needs is just a good working hypothesis of life and the world, until he reaches maturity and equips himself to deal scientifically with the whole matter.

The Sunday school, therefore, except in its adult classes, should devote but a minor portion of its time and effort to instruction in doctrine, and the catechism is not the best means to use for such doctrinal instruction as is to be given. The method of presenting and using doctrine is to be informal; doctrine is more to be implied and assumed than directly inculcated. Jesus' way of using doctrine is the right way for ordinary religious purposes—just to assume it and go forward with the religious and moral instruction. The rest belongs to the colleges, universities, theological seminaries, sometimes to the pulpit or class of adults.

2. Ought the Sunday school to undertake as its chief task to give its pupils a systematic, thorough acquaintance with the Bible? Is the Sunday school a "Bible school" in the sense that instruction in the Bible is its main task? Some of the men who have arraigned the uniform lessons have advocated in their stead a series of courses in which the biblical books and material should be studied continuously, chronologically, systematically, and completely. These men have had the interest, the opportunity, and the ability to study the Bible in this way themselves, and they assume that it would be well if all the Sunday-school people could do the same. They do not sufficiently consider that, desirable as historical Bible-study undoubtedly is, it is impracticable for the majority of persons, and there are more important things for the boy and girl to acquire in the Sunday-school years. The Bible does not connect directly with modern life; eighteen to twenty-seven centuries intervene. Many of its ideas have to be adapted, many of its teachings have to be explained and applied. We of the twentieth century are not and should not be first-century Christians, that is, mere repeaters of primitive Christian thought and conduct. We must make our own Christianity for our own age, as they did for theirs. The Bible is not a timeless textbook of static absolute religion and morals. It is a literature reflecting the religious and moral experience and judgments of an ancient people. It contains much that is of permanent worth and usefulness for religion and morality today, notably the Sermon on the Mount, the

parables, and the general message of Jesus; the practical portions of all Paul's letters, and considerable elements of the doctrinal portions, much in the general epistles, the best parts of the prophetic writings, of the Psalms, and of other Old Testament books. Yet the Bible as a whole must be regarded and interpreted as a literature, and as a literature out of the ancient world. Historical knowledge and skill are required to make or give adequate acquaintance with it.

Boys and girls under college age will hardly have the equipment or experience to understand the Bible in this larger sense. They must have studied other history and other literature and other ancient religions and ethics before they can understand the Bible. They must have acquired the ability to hold facts in long and correct perspective, they must have learned to think of human progress developmentally, they must have become able to interpret facts and ideas psychologically, they must be acquainted with the principles of sociological science. It will be said, "Then few—young or old—can understand the Bible." That seems to me to be an exact statement of the case; there are few who, properly speaking, do understand the Bible. Many things in the Bible can be immediately grasped by all, and can be put to use for religious and moral purposes. But an understanding of the Bible—that can only be accomplished by long and competent historical and literary study, with much experience of life and much scientific attainment. Theological students after three years in the seminary go out with but a partial understanding of the Bible. Scholars who spend their whole lives in the study of the Bible still leave their task unfinished. The Sunday-school teachers do not claim that they know the Bible well enough to teach it. As a matter of observation, one rarely sees the Bible accurately or adequately taught in the Sunday school. Courses that are designed to be historical courses of Bible-study become in the hands of the average teacher a series of religious and moral lessons, even when based more or less closely on certain facts or teachings in the portions of Scripture assigned for the respective hours. It is an uncommon thing to find a man or woman that is not a biblical specialist who can teach the Bible historically, and even the specialists are not always to be trusted.

That is to say, we can seldom get the Bible competently taught

as history or literature or in relation to comparative religion or comparative ethics. And if we could, the Bible so taught would be unsuitable for all pupils under 18 or 20 years of age. The more scholastic the Bible instruction, the less intelligible and the less useful it will be to the Sunday-school children. Of course we are to use the Bible in the Sunday school, since it contains much of the best material for religious and moral education that is available. We are to teach religion and morality, and make use of suitable portions of the Bible to that end. We are to select from the Bible such passages as are appropriate to the topic and purpose of the particular instruction or training that we are engaged upon. The passages we select are to be used with faithful regard to their historical setting and sense. The biblical story or teaching will not be literalized if it is figurative; it will not be allegorized, it will not be distorted, it will not be absolutized; it will not be justified for present instruction if according to our ideals it was not justifiable; it will not be standardized for twentieth-century doctrine or practice unless it is now approved.

There are many portions of the Bible which are not useful for child-training. Some portions are unsuitable, other portions are unintelligible, to the child or youth. This is true not only of the doctrinal writings, but of all portions which assume and require adult experience and power of thought. The Bible was written by grown people for grown people. Fortunately, there are portions that can be used with children. But whole books and sections of the Bible, as well as paragraphs and verses, have so little relation to present-day life that they serve no purpose for the education of the young; e. g., the entire ceremonial and ritual law in the Pentateuch, the genealogies of Genesis, Chronicles, and the gospels, the apocalyptic material in Ezekiel, Daniel, and the Book of Revelation. The stories of war, slaughter, intrigue, deception, and gross immorality of various kinds, which stand in Genesis, Exodus, Joshua, Judges, the Samuels, and the Kings, are not suitable for children and adolescents. The miracle stories, which abound in certain portions of the Old Testament and the New, including the miraculous conception and the resurrection of Jesus, are a perplexity to the conscientious modern-minded Sunday-school teacher, as to how they can be made useful for moral and religious instruction. The imprecatory psalms, the pessimism of Ecclesiastes,

the sex realism of Canticles and of many passages in both Testaments, Paul's exaltation of celibacy, and similar things—are these good material for Sunday-school education? We find difficulty also with another class of Biblical ideas: do we wish our children to think as the Hebrews did about the creation of the world, the creation of man, the destruction of humanity by God's wrath in the flood, the origin of the rainbow, the beginning of sin, the short era of human history, the hardening of Pharaoh's heart, God's sanction of the Hebrew extermination of the Canaanites, etc.? Do we wish to perpetuate the Hebrew-Jewish and primitive-Christian ideas of angels and demons, of dreams and visions, of special providences (punitive or beneficent), of the gentile religions, of the coming of the Messiah on the clouds?

The Bible is not an easy book to use for educational purposes. The public schools are using it less and less. It is not taught to the children in the home as it formerly was. Even Sunday-school teachers and students are feeling the difficulty of understanding and applying the Bible to present-day problems. Some portions of the Bible are much used, while some portions are little used. We have developed the very reasonable habit of using those portions which are simplest and most helpful; the uniform-lesson system presents selected passages for study. Certainly we want the Bible systematically, historically studied by our Sunday-school teachers, along with everything else that they need to know for their work; but in their use of the Bible with the children we shall wish them to select such passages and use the material in such ways as shall be most helpful for moral and religious education. As has been said, there certainly is a large amount of the biblical material that can be so used. But whatever portion we use, we are to keep clearly before our minds that the Bible is not an end in itself—it is the child we are working for, and we are using the Bible only as a means of promoting his growth. We are not trying to see how much ancient history or ancient literature or ancient thought we can pack into his memory, but are trying to awaken and develop in him his moral and religious nature.

My conclusion, then, is: The chief purpose and function of the Sunday school is not to teach theology, although some theology will be taught and used. Nor is the chief aim of the Sunday school to

teach the Bible, although biblical material will be largely employed. The Sunday school should be a school of religion and morality, where we teach love to God, faith, reverence, obedience, prayer, worship, and joy; where we communicate to the children our moral and religious ideals, principles, and motives, helping the children forward to manhood and womanhood. The Sunday school should be a school of real life, where the environment shall be interesting, occupying, happy, and uplifting, where good habits of feeling, willing, and thinking are developed, where the social relationships are educative. Perhaps the Sunday school need make no great matter of the distinction between religion and ethics. The churches do not ordinarily make the distinction; the term "religion" is used by Christian people generally in an inclusive sense, as having to do with both love to God and love to man, with doctrine, worship, character, and conduct together. Human duties are by the church all summed up under religion and are taught as religious duties. There are two aspects of Sunday-school education which can be intertwined, will generally be intertwined, but neither of which is to be neglected. On the one hand, we wish to develop the spirituality of the boy and girl, in the way of reverence, worship, faith, devotion, prayer, a sense of relation and wholeness with God in his universe, a confidence that God does all things well, a vision of the unseen realities, a reliance upon God for light, leading, and welfare, a steadfastness in the face of toil and difficulties, a sense of calm and peace for the present life, an assurance of salvation for the future. On the other hand, we wish to develop the moral (ethical) nature of the child, awakening in him aspirations to goodness, the sense of obligation to be and do the right, by bringing to his consciousness the ideals which men have adopted for themselves, by enlightening them as to the principles of individual and social righteousness, and by showing them how these principles are to be applied to daily living. We shall seek to make him acquainted with life so that he will know how to meet it, we will help him to see what true success means, we will assist him to acquire right habits, we will find for him abundant ways to express in word and deed his impulses to work and service, so that he may become both good and useful.

LITERARY EVOLUTION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

AN OUTLINE FOR STUDY

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Fifty-five hundred years ago Palestine was the *Ultima Thule* of the ancient civilizations of the Nile and the Euphrates. Even at that early day prairie schooners plowed the wake of the setting sun, and adventuresome spirits from the older civilizations sought for themselves new homes on a frontier facing the western sea. With immigrants from Hammurabi's land, came certain ancestors of the Hebrew race, to contend in a life of destiny on the world's frontier.

The Hebrew immigrants found the country already peopled. Many centuries of life haunted the land with myth and legend. Quaint folk-lore pre-empted the spots where the newcomers pitched their tents and built their household fires, being the *lares* and *penates* of the older inhabitants. Traditions of the older peoples, both near and far, were associated with hill and valley, with wood and stream, and furnished the new people with a picturesque background for their history. Just as the aboriginal legends of North America inspire much in our literature, so the ancient legends of Palestine worked themselves into Hebrew life and literature. The newcomers grew into the traditions of the land on which they had squatted, and forthwith began to create charming traditions of their own—for, was it not an age when poetry grew on every bush, and when man and God walked familiarly together upon the earth?

The first step in all literature is oral. Man finds his tongue before he whittles his pen out of a goose quill, and he sings long before he writes. The genesis of the Hebrew literature was oral. The earliest of the Hebrew singers and their songs have entirely disappeared. All we know of them comes through the snatches of their songs which later writers have incorporated in their manuscripts. A vast body of Hebrew song and story is lost in the mists which render picturesque the ancient time. By the campfires of Mars; on

the trail of the immigrant, when the oxen were in-spanned for the night; in the sheik's tent, to the accompaniment of the lute, far into the night; or in my lady's boudoir, where witching slaves lolled on rich oriental rugs, the earliest Hebrew singers chanted their songs of love and war, to ready ears and to apt memories. The traditional origin of the family, of the tribe, of the nation, and of the surrounding peoples, together with the local loves and hates of the common lot, were the perennial theme of these ancient oral geneses of literature. The Hebrew troubadors sang our later Caedmon's theme—the lofty epic of creation. Lamech's ancient ditty, a snatch of which has come down to us; the attractive epic of Noah and his unique ark; the traditional geneses of Egypt and of Babylon, with the fascinating story of the tower that failed to reach the height of heaven; Miriam's timbrel dance, and Deborah's fine song of triumph, were some of the themes of these ancient songs and stories. Nothing was written. The ancestors of the Hebrews may have made a thousand years of history before they put a pen to parchment. The tongue was the efficient servant of memory, and one generation told to another the story of the olden time.

The Hebrew immigrants found holy places and sacred shrines scattered over the land. Bethel, Dan, Nob, Shiloh, Hebron, Beersheba, Ramah, Shechem, and Gilgal, are a few of the holy places marked in extant biblical literature, and many of these shrines evidently antedate the advent of Abraham in the land. These spots were marked by an altar, and sometimes by a sanctuary, and were, of course, centers of priestly influence. These holy places served the cause of the literature that was to be, for they were the garner-houses of the Hebrew growing tradition. Sometimes the priests were troubadors, and chanted the local traditions. Story-cycles gathered about these holy places, where conditions were naturally right for their preservation, and also for their propagation. Long before they were written, the David stories were treasured and sung at Bethlehem. A wandering minstrel from Shiloh would chant the deeds of Samuel the king-maker, and proclaim the virtues of the sacred ark of the covenant. The Gibeah cycle of song would include the dramatic story of Israel's first king. Hebron and Beersheba

were especially rich in Abraham lore, and Bethel was surcharged with the spirit of Jacob.

The transition from oral to written tradition is easy and natural. Oriental oral tradition becomes as stereotyped as though it were actually printed. For a thousand years the stories of the patriarchs lived from tongue to ear. The East is still largely content to live that way. With the progress of the arts of life came the impulse to commit to writing the ancient songs and stories. The inspiration to write moved in a thousand ways. Perhaps a master singer would write out his version of a song for the use of a minstrel in another section, much as manuscript music used to be passed on from musician to musician a generation or two ago. Our collection of English and Scottish popular ballads illustrates the general process. Until Bishop Percy's time, this mass of ballads was largely oral. In our day, Professor Francis James Childs has added his labors to those of Bishop Percy, and the result is that the literature of our century is enriched by the printing of this body of quaint ancient folk-lore. Even so, but by the leisurely process of many centuries of manuscript creation and transmission, did the Hebrew traditions become transcribed from the tongue to parchment. The written story-cycles, as had the oral cycles, centered about the ancient holy places. The arks at the sacred shrines were the receptacles of the incipient libraries. These beginnings of Hebrew literature, whose outlines are all but lost in the mists of antiquity, laid the foundation for the biographical narratives which we find in our Hexateuch.

All the while the nation was growing. The sweep of history set the kings in the center of the national stage, and the northern and southern kingdoms were established. The great schism led to the creation of a national literature, for out of that tremendous national experience grew the leading documents of our composite Bible. Both north and south developed a national consciousness, which found a fitting expression in the separate literature of the two peoples.

The southern kingdom was first to set about writing and interpreting Hebrew history. About the time of Jehoshaphat, a prophetic writer of Judah wrote a history of Hebrew origins from the southern point of view. All previous oral and written material lay ready to his hand. The arks of the holy places opened their treasure for his

use. The work of his pen embraces the oldest considerable sections of our extant Bible. In current critical schemes his work is known as the "J" document. From the large amount of his material which survives in later combinations of biblical literature, it is still possible to reconstruct the main outlines of "J's" history. His story began with creation—possibly at our second chapter of Genesis and the fourth verse—and included the idyl of Paradise, and the tragedy of the fall of man. He told the sad tale of Cain and Abel, gave a simple version of the Deluge, and so on through the riches of the ancient lore. His history was a noble prophetic interpretation of the genesis of his people. It was but a slim volume, so to speak, but it was destined to exercise a mighty influence upon all later biblical compilations. Were it extant today, it would be worth a thousand times its weight in fine gold. It was the first attempt, so far as we can discover, to gather the scattered materials of national tradition and history into continuous narrative. Its author remains a great unknown, but his work will outlast the eternal hills.

Within a generation or two, another unknown prophetic writer living in the northern kingdom, did for Israel what "J" had accomplished for Judah. He compiled the famous "E" document of the critics, and much of his work is incorporated in our Bible, and so lives among the world's most ancient writings. His sources were pretty much the same oral and written traditions that had inspired "J," with the exception that manuscripts in the keeping of the northern shrines would naturally be more open to him. His work interpreted the common Hebrew tradition, from the northern point of view, and it circulated mostly among northern readers, for whom it paralleled "J's" southern sketches of Hebrew history.

The great literary prophets now appear in Israel's history. They were the grand quintessence of the Hebrew genius, and they ushered in the Elizabethan period of Hebrew literature. The nation was profoundly stirred by the conflict of the ethics of the prophets with the ritual of the priest. In those great days,

Every morning brought a noble chance,
And every chance brought out a noble knight.

Amos in the north, and Isaiah in the south, were glorious trumpets whose certain tones rallied both the nation and individuals to

righteousness. It is somewhat remarkable, and gives us cause for reflection, that "J" and "E," unpretentious volumes though they were, were the only Bibles in the hands of these makers of our Bible.

About the time of Josiah, when the voice of Jeremiah was beginning to be heard in the land, an unknown editor had in his possession both "J" and "E." Both these narratives were history, with a sectional bias. The new editor noted the virtues and the defects of both narratives. One story often supplied important information that was entirely lacking in the other. The northern kingdom had come to an untimely end. Why not combine the northern Bible with the Bible in use in the south? That at least would save "E" from the fate that had overtaken the nation for whom it was originally written. This unknown editor did combine "E" with "J," and so made one more or less continuous narrative. The work was not done well, because the critical faculty had not yet come into play. As we have it now, two conflicting stories sometimes come together in the narrative, and there is no attempt made to harmonize the differences. However, the general result is good, and this man's work has preserved to us large sections of "E," which otherwise might, so to speak, have gone into captivity with Israel, and so have been lost forever. Moreover, the work of this unknown editor is noteworthy, because it was the earliest known attempt to create a biblical harmony. The resultant manuscript is known as "JE," and it occupies a prominent place in the Bible as now constituted.

It is hardly proper to call "JE" a harmony. The time for a harmony was still far below the horizon. Our author made no attempt to harmonize his documents. He simply put the two narratives together, where they served his purpose, and the result is a sort of crazy-quilt effect, whose grave literary irregularities even the non-critical English reader can hardly fail to note.

The Babylonian Exile was Israel's great disaster, and it also proved to be her incomparable blessing. Great life paradoxes center about Judah's exile. The prophets sent Israel out. When westward the star of empire again took its way, using the old caravan route that had served the Hebrew ancestors two thousand years before, the priest's hand was in control of the prairie schooner. Israel went into exile scarcely distinguishable in faith and practice from her

idolatrous neighbors, and the people returned from Babylon uncompromising monotheists. They went out without a national knowledge of the Law, and returned with a passion for the Law which redeems the commonplaces of their life with vast sublimities. The Exile proved to be the real making of the nation. If it be asked, What was the secret of the marvelous change? undoubtedly, the answer must be: it was Israel's national acquisition of the Law.

Hitherto, only the prophet's hand is discernible in the creation of the national literature. The priest has pottered about the altar, and has left the shaping of the national conscience largely in the hands of his rival the prophet—which was good for the people, and also good for history. But, sometime during the Exile, or at least shortly afterward, the Jewish legal system was codified, and thereafter it became a tremendous force in the national life. The movement toward legalism indicates great literary activity among the priests. The priest learned to use the prophet's tool. He was driven to the pen by the signal failure of all previous writings to represent the priestly point of view. The current historical narratives gave but little space to the temple, to the institution of the altar, to the holy city Jerusalem, to either the ritual or the priest. Wherever brief items from these sacerdotal realms of interest impinge upon the ancient narratives, it might have been a modern hand that drafted the record—so free from ritualistic bias, and from the dominance of the priest, are “J” and “E” and “JE.”

The priest was pained at this absence (from his point of view) of religious interests from his national Bible, and during the Exile, or shortly afterward, he set about to remedy the strange defect. He compiled an ecclesiastical history, beginning at creation and bringing the story up to date. Doubtless the ecclesiastical records were open to this compiler as they had not been to his predecessors. From the sources at his command he compiled such material as suited his priestly purpose, and the result was a strictly ecclesiastical history, in which, at last, the priest and his ritual came to their own. His work is known as “P,” and it is the most easily recognizable of all the strands that now compose our Bible. It puts matters of ritual to the front. The priest stands well, the temple is glorified, and an exaggerated emphasis on the miraculous seldom fails to

raise a smile when the modern reader compares his work with the work of his earlier rivals. Our first chapter of Genesis, as far as the third verse of the second chapter, is from the pen of "P," and perhaps shows that author at his very best.

"P" appeared at a time that was naturally favorable for the perpetuation of his work. The priest was in power, and the priestly outlook on life was current and popular. It was a period of great literary activity. Facing a new future under circumstances of profound emotion, the people naturally wanted to know about the nation's past. The final editing of the national Scriptures was the answer to the crying need. Some unknown hand—it may have been Ezra himself; or it may have been one of the scribes of his school; more probably, the work may have been wrought by several priestly editors, covering a wide period of time—constructed an entirely new history of the Hebrew people. Nothing like it had appeared before. It must have created an impression similar to that experienced in modern times, when the Revised Version of the New Testament was given to the world. All previous sources were open to the ambitions of the new editor. He had "J" and "E" and "JE," and, freshest and most potent of all, the recent "P" lay before him. Very naturally, he selected "P" as the groundwork of his new narrative. It was the longest and fullest of all extant narratives, and it suited his purpose admirably. Around the main strand of "P," the new editor wove material from all the older sources. When his work was complete, this latest editor had put the material which now constitutes our Bible, up to that date, in pretty much the shape in which we find it today. The later portions of our Bible have, of course, fallen into their respective places according to the later growth of the Old Testament canon.

THE GROWTH OF ETHICAL IDEALS IN OLD TESTAMENT TIMES

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III. DEUTERONOMY AND JEREMIAH, *ca.* 650-586 B. C.

There is considerable difference of opinion regarding the exact amount of literary material that has come down to us from the pen of Micah the Morasthite. There are, however, only two passages that require attention in this study. The first is found in the sixth chapter and constitutes the finest summary statement of ethical religion in the Old Testament. By an undesigned, but interesting, coincidence the points of emphasis of Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah are brought together in it:

He hath shown thee, O man! what is good,
And what doth Yahweh require of thee,
But to do justice (Amos) and to love mercy (Hosea),
And to walk humbly with thy God (Isaiah).

The other passage is one in which Micah mentions an apparently numerous party whose watchword was "Yahweh is among us. No evil can come upon us" (Mic. 3:11). It seems probable that this party interpreted the events of the year 701 B. C. as a signal intervention on the part of Yahweh to save his city and his temple. The fact that the sanctuaries of Northern Israel had passed into the hands of the enemy strengthened the belief that Jerusalem was Yahweh's inviolable dwelling-place. Thus the closing year of the eighth century B. C. prepared the way for Deuteronomy, for the centralization of worship at Jerusalem. Reference to the twenty-sixth chapter of Jeremiah shows how, in the course of subsequent events, the superstitious faith of the party mentioned by Micah had hardened into the doctrine of Zion's inviolability. Heterogeneous elements, therefore, were comprised among the forces that inaugurated the Deuteronomic reformation. For while the centralization of worship at Jerusalem was the direct result of prophetic activity, it also played

into the hands of the inviolability party to which the prophets were strenuously opposed. For Isaiah had declared that when Yahweh encamped against Jerusalem, as David once had done, the city would become an altar-hearth, reeking with the blood and carnage of war (Isa. 29:2, 3); Micah, that the temple mountain would be plowed as a field, and the city become a heap of ruins (Mic. 3:12).

Among the promoters of the Deuteronomic movement are found, therefore, on the one hand the old prophetic party which desired centralization of worship at Jerusalem as the only effective means of stamping out the Yahweh-Baal worship; on the other hand the inviolability party, dominated probably by the priests attached to the Jerusalem Sanctuary. The latter party served its own interests best by accepting the movement as an acquiescence in their claim that Jerusalem was the only and inviolable home of Yahweh. This fact of diversity of purpose in the achievement of a common end must be clearly grasped if one is to understand the attitude of Jeremiah toward Deuteronomy after Josiah's reformation. The inviolability party, leaning doubtless upon Deuteronomy, claimed to be the representative of orthodoxy. But in making the fate of Judah dependent *not upon character and ethical conduct, but upon the magic value of the sacred buildings*, Jeremiah's opponents displaced one unmoral faith with another. The dislodgment of superstitious regard for many sacred places thus became the unintended means of fostering a worse superstition at Jerusalem. The prophet states the issue uncompromisingly: "Trust ye not in lying words, saying, The temple of Yahweh, the temple of Yahweh, the temple of Yahweh, are these. For if ye thoroughly amend your ways and your doings; if ye thoroughly execute justice between a man and his neighbor; if ye oppress not the sojourner, the fatherless, and the widow, and shed not innocent blood in this place, . . . then will I cause you to dwell in this place, in the land that I gave to your fathers, from of old even forevermore" (7:4-7). This is Jeremiah's affirmation of the inseparability of religion and morality. It is worth observing in this connection that the acceptance of the temple as a palladium by the inviolability party was only an extension of the popular belief in the efficacy of sacrifices to secure the favor of

Yahweh.¹ From the fact that Deuteronomy gives a large place to divine commands about sacrifices, ostensibly delivered during the Exodus, one is bound to infer that great importance continued to be attached to them even in prophetic circles. Jeremiah, however, *denies that Yahweh ever gave commands about sacrifices* and so eliminates both the temple and the cultus from the essential uses of religion (7:21, 22). It would be hard to overrate the ethical significance of the prophet's attitude in this matter. Of cognate importance is an interesting passage about the "ark of the covenant," in which Jeremiah frankly recognizes its worthlessness (3:16). This implies condemnation of the superstitious veneration accorded to the ark in earlier times, and so marks a long advance over primitive ideas reflected in the story about Uzzah's death, a story whose assumptions about God are shockingly crude and false from a Christian point of view. In short, the distinctly secondary importance to which Jeremiah relegates certain forms of religion springs from an instinctive conviction that practical religion consists in conforming conduct to moral law. That he should objectify the content of the moral law in terms of divine commands and prohibitions is necessarily incidental to the theology of his time.

It will be useful at this point to review briefly the ethical gains as well as the ethical limitations of Deuteronomy,² for against the background of this book the splendid service of Jeremiah appears to best advantage. He doubtless was in hearty accord at first with this attempt to reduce the prophetic ideals to practice.³ But when the Deuteronomic movement played more and more into the hands of the inviolability party; when its emphasis upon spiritual motives was perverted into excessive regard for ritual observances; when the law of the single sanctuary, intended to emancipate religion from its degrading connection with the "high-places" of Canaan, was invoked for the protection of priestly pretensions and a superstitious faith in the magic value of the Jerusalem temple, Jeremiah became the critic of Deuteronomy and the legalism which its official

¹ Cf. *Biblical World*, May, 1909, p. 333.

² For the purposes of this study, chaps. 1-4, 5-26, and 28 may be treated as a substantial unity.

³ Cf. Jer., chap. 11.

expounders read into it. "How do ye say, We are wise, and the law of Yahweh is with us?" he exclaims. "But behold the lying pen of the scribes hath made of it a falsehood. The wise men are put to shame; they are dismayed and taken: lo, they have rejected the word of Yahweh; and what manner of wisdom is in them?" (8:8, 9.)

It has been customary to see in Deuteronomy a protest of monotheism against polytheism. In reality it is a protest of mono-Yahwism against poly-Yahwism. The people, inclined to postulate a different Yahweh at each high-place, were to be taught by the adoption of *one sanctuary* that there was but *one Yahweh*. But the Yahweh whom the Deuteronomist depicts expressly limits his interest to Israel alone and leaves other nations to the tender mercies of deities he has "allotted" to them (Deut. 4:19, 20). As ethical monotheism this view of God's relation to mankind is unworthy of the name. It is only a modified henotheism in which the national God-idea squares itself with a belief in Yahweh's supremacy over other deities whose real existence is not questioned. The effect of such a view of God upon the sense of moral obligation toward foreigners has been pointed out in a previous study.⁴ *Psychologically, the Israelite restriction of God's love and interest to themselves was the reflection of their own unmoral attitude toward non-Israelites.* Following the naïve practice of claiming divine sanction for current customs the Deuteronomist, for instance, alleges divine authority for selling to a foreigner, as food, the carcass of an animal that has succumbed to disease (14:21). That such an outrageous bargain could not be concluded without deliberate deception stands to reason. The assumption is that deception and consequent injury are not wrong in Yahweh's eyes if a foreigner is the victim.⁵ A domestic God is the patron of a domestic morality. Foreigners can be objects only of his hostility. "Thou shalt consume all the people that Yahweh thy God shall deliver unto thee; thine eye shall not pity

⁴ Cf. *Biblical World*, March, 1909, pp. 187 ff.

⁵ The following authenticated incident of recent occurrence lends a modern interest to the ethics of this passage. The defendant in a lawsuit in a southern court, having sold a diseased animal under false pretenses, quoted to the judge this passage in defense of his action, claiming that the plaintiff was a foreigner because he resided in another county.

them" (7:16). From a historical point of view this is more or less justifiable as a transient condition in a developing process. Deuteronomy takes a noble, though subordinate, place in the advancing moral experience of Israel. But to teach its moral crudities as the "word of God" is an outrage to common intelligence and unworthy of the Christian idea of God.

It is with satisfaction that one turns to Jeremiah, who both explicitly and implicitly takes more advanced ground. Unlike the Deuteronomist he does not believe that Yahweh shares the rule of the world with other deities. He frankly calls them "no-gods," nonentities. The following passage seems to contain an allusion to the theory that Yahweh has allotted subordinate deities to foreign nations: "O Yahweh, my strength and my stronghold, and my refuge in the day of affliction, unto thee shall the nations come from the ends of the earth, and shall say, Our fathers have inherited naught but lies, even vanity and things wherein is no profit. Shall a man take unto himself gods, which yet are no-gods?" (16:19). In removing these deities from the category of gods, and in voicing the protest of foreign nations against the partiality and injustice of such a restricted disposition of divine favor, Jeremiah takes the last step that needed to be taken toward pure monotheism. When Jeremiah calls these deities "no-gods" he is by the logic of the situation compelled to break the bonds of a particularistic conception of God, or to leave all foreign nations without gods—godless in the strict sense. While he cannot and does not at all points free himself from the trammels of the national God-idea, he has too profound and true a conception of Yahweh's character to choose the latter alternative. In 32:26 the narrow particularism of Deuteronomy receives a staggering blow: "Then came the word of Yahweh to Jeremiah, saying, Behold I am Yahweh, *the God of all flesh*."⁶ It would be difficult to overrate the ethical consequences of this broader humanitarian view of God's relation to all mankind in the religion of Israel. Space forbids the tracing-out in detail of its broadening effect upon the sense of moral obligation toward non-Israelites. It must suffice to

⁶ It is true that in this and similar passages Jeremiah conceives of God's relation to "all flesh" chiefly in its punitive aspect. But the spirit of his utterances shows that he is effectually breaking away from the old particularism; cf. 25:31; 32:19; 18:7-10.

refer to the almost evangelical sympathies of Deutero-Isaiah and the broad humanitarianism of the Book of Jónah as later fruits of Jeremiah's planting. Even priestly literature, though in most respects a complete perversion of Jeremiah's religious ideals, exhibits a growing tolerance, at least in reference to the *gērîm* ("strangers").⁷

In a variety of ways Deuteronomy exhibits a deepening of ethical feeling and a greater humanizing of laws and customs. Very significant is the closer association of charity and religion. Wanton destruction of the common means of subsistence, encouraged in earlier days by a prophet like Elisha, is prohibited as a war measure in Deuteronomy. The old *lex talionis*, intended to check the excesses of private revenge, is given a more limited range of application. Growth of morality and refinement is indicated also by improvement in the position of woman. A bondwoman is conceded a man's right of manumission after seven years. Seduction, regarded in earlier law only in the light of pecuniary loss to the maiden's father, is treated as a breach of moral purity, punishable with a fine.⁸ In these and other evidences of the amelioration of manners and customs one may recognize the common advance of general culture and ethical religion. Jeremiah's protest against the evils of a book religion, such as Deuteronomy inaugurated, was doubtless in part due to an instinctive perception of the danger of claiming permanent validity for a transitory stage of religious development. For, as has been well observed, "what in one generation is a living truth of faith becomes in later generations a mere dead formula, part of the religion learned by rote, with which living faith has to do battle upon new issues."⁹

In concluding this study it becomes necessary to touch upon an element of moral progress that is in many respects the most important—the rise of ethical individualism. The essential character of Old Testament ethics is sure to be misunderstood by one who does not realize that the professed object of Old Testament religion was *not to save souls for a future life, but to save the community or the nation for this life*. The realm of the dead, Sheol,

⁷ Cf. Lev. 17:5; 24:22; Exod. 12:49. The term *gēr* changed its meaning in course of time, acquiring at last a purely religious significance.

⁸ Cp. Exod. 22:16, 17 and Deut. 22:18 ff.

⁹ W. Robertson Smith, *Prophets of Israel*, p. 370.

was a cheerless and shadowy place where neither rewards nor punishments were distributed. These, if they came at all, must come on earth. Even in Old Testament literature so late as the Book of Daniel,¹⁰ the *unrewarded* and the *unpunished* only are called back from the dead to receive on earth the rewards and punishments which as yet no one imagines may be dispensed by divine justice after death. What is more pertinent in this connection, the benefits and the penalties of religion, especially in the pre-exilic period, are administered to the nation. The twenty-eighth chapter of Deuteronomy is a striking illustration of this nationally administered ante-mortem theodicy. The individual is nothing; the nation, everything. The peace and prosperity of the estates of the realm are the Old Testament analogue for the peace of conscience which makes a healthy condition of spiritual life in the individual Christian. It was pointed out in a previous study that the practice of morality must be guided largely by prudential considerations where the purposes of religion are thus conceived. Only on an individualistic theory of human conduct can either the fear of consequences or the hope of reward act as an efficient incitement. Henceforward the growth of ethical ideals in Old Testament times will be found closely associated with the rise of ethical individualism. While Jeremiah does not clearly enunciate a doctrine of individual responsibility, yet his entire conception of God and of religion served as a powerful stimulus toward the recognition of the moral value of the individual. Communistic and official religion was chiefly identified with ritual homage which he disparaged. The moral obedience, on the other hand, which he preached, pointed directly to the individual. This is the real bearing of the fine passage in which he contrasts the priestly type of religion with his own hope of a better one (31:33, 34). Conduct born of the knowledge of a "law" graven upon the heart is not found in the chain-gang of a formal state religion. Jeremiah stands for an untraditionalized conscience and an open road. Though he is the first to react against the old religious communism, Ezekiel is a less effective apostle of ethical individualism than Jeremiah of Anathoth. But with the former the subject enters upon a new and more complicated stage of development.

¹⁰ Dan., chap. 12.

COMMUNION WITH GOD IN THE BIBLE

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IV. IN CHRIST

The same difficulties that we found to beset the attempt to estimate the piety of the Old Testament upon its inner side, confront us also in the New. And for the same reason. The life of the Christian and of the Hebrew saint alike is rooted indeed in faith, but it expresses itself largely in social relationships and activities. When Jesus was asked by an earnest man the way of eternal life, he pointed him to those commandments in the Decalogue which emphasized the duties of men to society. The secret sources of the life are seldom laid bare. Much may be inferred with certainty, but little is directly said. Considering the vivid apprehension of God and of the spiritual life which pervades the New Testament, its recorded prayers are astonishingly few. This, it may be said, is due to its subject-matter: narratives and letters give little scope for prayer. Still, this is only a partial explanation; the fact remains that even the recorded prayers of Jesus are very few, and, apart from the Gospel of John, very brief. He himself had bidden men, when they prayed, to enter into the chamber, and shut the door; what took place behind the closed door was an affair between the soul and God.

It is, however, of peculiar importance to ascertain, so far as we may, the nature of the communion of Christ with God; for, in some sense at least, he must be the norm as well as the dynamic of the Christian consciousness. If it is true that he brings us into relations with the Father which are impossible without him and apart from him, it is also true that his own relation to the Father is the perfect type of that toward which we strive, however unsuccessfully, to conform. But while we study the inner life of Jesus with the hope of meeting much which we may reproduce, however imperfectly, in our own lives, we shall never even begin to understand his secret until we recognize that, in the profoundest sense, he stands

absolutely alone, and no other son of man can be placed by his side. He is like us, so like us that we feel he is our best and deepest self; but he is unlike us—identified with God as no other ever has been or can be. There is a sense in which our communion with God may be like his: there is another sense in which his communion with God is without parallel. Men may be sons of God, he is *the* Son. So much more intimate was his relationship with the Father than any other man's can be that God can be addressed as the "Father of our Lord Jesus Christ." Our familiarity with this phrase is apt to blind us to its astonishing implications. It may be considered to have a remote parallel in the Old Testament addresses to the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, at least in so far as it contemplates God in relation to a historical personality; yet it is something widely different and deeper. It is no doubt a subtle reminiscence of Jesus' own method of prayer: for was it not he pre-eminently who had called God Father? But further, it is a most remarkable tribute to his uniqueness that Paul thus calls him the Father of Jesus. It suggests that this new relation to God, which involved nothing less than a spiritual revolution, had been created and mediated by Jesus. It suggests the infinite obligation of all men to Jesus for the assurance of this new relationship.

The hottest battle in the modern theological world rages round this very point of the uniqueness of Jesus. It was natural that the historical criticism which had succeeded in explaining so much, both in Old Testament and New, by its wide and ever-widening knowledge of contemporary and antecedent historical conditions, should imagine that Jesus could also in this way be adequately explained. Many parallels to his sayings and doings could be adduced from many quarters, and the larger our knowledge grew, the more the mystery of his personality seemed to vanish. His miracles and his claims might seem to offer an intractable residuum, but even they could be disposed of. Some of the miracles might be simply imitations of miracles associated with Old Testament saints, others due to misunderstood metaphors, others to the almost unconscious devices of an affectionate and pious imagination: many of the healing miracles were allowed right-of-way, simply because parallels could be adduced from modern medical experience. The claims of Jesus

might be disposed of with equal facility. They are not claims, it is urged, made by Jesus for himself, but claims made for him in later days by a church which loved, revered, and worshiped him. In this way Jesus is skilfully reduced to common human measure, and he stands before us great indeed, but only the greatest among the sons of men. He is head and shoulders above the people, but that is all.

Now no intelligent man would wish to underestimate the difficulties connected with the interpretation of an ancient literature, necessarily steeped in conceptions remote from the modern mind; least of all, when to those inevitable difficulties are added others which spring out of the intricacies and perplexities of the synoptic problem. Still it has to be confessed that much which passes for criticism comes to its estimate of Jesus with its mind made up. Certain kinds of evidence are more or less deliberately ruled out, simply because the Figure to which they point would be of more than human proportions. This is seldom indeed the avowed basis of the reconstruction, but it is frequently the tacit assumption; and there is just enough in the variety and divergences of the narratives themselves to lend a certain plausibility to results reached from this presupposition. But there are not wanting signs that a more cautious and comprehensive criticism will soon demand a hearing—a criticism not less historical but more spiritual; not less ready to test evidence, but more sympathetic to what one might call uncongenial evidence; more willing to recognize that behind a literature so unique as the New Testament and so unanimous in its testimony to Jesus Christ, must lie a Personality no less unique than Jesus Christ as attested by that New Testament.

This is not the place to deal with the literary and critical aspects of this problem; but it is the writer's conviction that an unprejudiced investigation can only lead to the conclusion that Jesus stands alone among men, that toward God on the one hand and man on the other he sustains relations which are altogether unique. The uniqueness of Jesus is asserted with special emphasis and frequency in the Fourth Gospel; but if this testimony is rejected as unhistorical and inconclusive, that uniqueness is just as integrally, if not as obviously, interwoven with the Synoptic Gospels. In the Fourth Gospel Jesus claims to be the Light of the World, the Resurrection

and the Life, the Way and the Truth, etc.—claims which, it may be said, do not suggest the historical Jesus; but in the Synoptic Gospels, he claims to forgive sins, to have come to seek and save the lost, to give his life a ransom for many, to be the final Judge of men. The one set of claims is really as stupendous as the other; and if both be ignored as later interpretations of the church rather than express declarations of Jesus himself, the question still remains: Who and what is this Man for whom, with any sort of propriety, such claims could be made at all? The felt necessity for such an extraordinary interpretation surely points to an extraordinary man—a man literally extra-ordinary, *out of the line* of other men, a man by himself, alone.

The interest of this consideration for our discussion lies here: that, if all this be true, the filial consciousness of Jesus was different, in some real way, from the filial consciousness of other men, and communion with God must have been for him what it never has been for any other member of the race. We have not the space here to argue this: it will be enough to recall certain words and situations which can be vindicated at the bar of literary and historical criticism, and which irresistibly suggest the uniqueness of Jesus. Of these the most notable is this: "All things have been delivered unto me of my Father, and no man knoweth the Son, save the Father; neither doth any know the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him." There Jesus claims to sustain a special relation alike to God and man. He is the Son, as no other man can be; all things connected with the revelation of the Father have been deliberately committed by the Father to him; and for their knowledge of the Father men are dependent on him. He is Revealer and Mediator, in both capacities supreme—not one among the many sons of God, but conscious of standing in a unique relation to him, and therefore to them.

This consciousness shines out from not a few of the sayings of Jesus. "Everyone who shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father who is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father who is in heaven." Here again is the same unique relation to the Father—in a special sense he is *his* father—and the same unique relation to men; the ultimate destiny of men at the hands of the

Father is to be determined by their attitude to Jesus. Similarly in the great judgment scene toward the close of the Sermon on the Mount, it is to him, as Judge, that men direct their final appeal, and he who bids the evildoers depart from him. There can be little doubt that Jesus left upon the minds of his followers the impression that he was to be the Judge of men. Again the wise man is he who builds upon his words, the fool is he who rejects them, and the life that rejects them is ruined. There are other sayings hardly less astonishing, through which Jesus expresses his consciousness of a unique relation to men. "If any man cometh unto me, and hateth not his own father and mother and wife and children and brethren and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple" (Luke 14:26). Even allowing for editorial expansion in the relationships enumerated in this verse, there is a certain originality about it which marks it essentially as a word of Jesus. It is easy to see that offense might readily be taken at a statement so extreme, and in Matt. 10:37 the thought is expressed more mildly: "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me." But Jesus is a perpetual surprise; and the word *hate*, daring and impossible as it may seem, is altogether in his original manner. We cannot of course suppose that he who enjoined the love of enemies, demanded from his disciples that they should literally hate their nearest and dearest; the word is but an extreme expression for the unflinching severity with which a would-be disciple must contemplate any tie that held him back from whole-hearted allegiance to Jesus. But even so, what a claim it is on the part of Jesus! For his sake men must be prepared to abandon everyone, everything. *For my sake.* This phrase appears in the most striking connections. For his sake men are to be ready and even glad to face danger, persecution, death. His cause is identical with the cause of the kingdom of God; what they suffer for it they suffer for him.

This unique relation of Jesus to men is, as we have said, only the correlative of his unique relation to God, and therefore his communion with God must have been of altogether peculiar and unparalleled intimacy. In this connection it is very significant that there is never any note of contrition in the prayers of Jesus. He confesses nothing because he has nothing to confess. The Lord's

Prayer, with its petition for forgiveness, is rather the disciples' prayer than his own. "When ye pray, say, 'Forgive us our sins'" (Luke 11:2-4); but he did not so pray. The uniqueness of the intimacy subsisting between Jesus and the Father is especially marked in the baptism. His filial consciousness had no doubt a much earlier origin, though it is impossible to say when it began; but in that supreme hour when it fell to him to emerge from the solitude of his private life and to enter, by a deeply solemn and significant act, upon his public career, there came to him the divine reassurance that he was indeed not only one among many sons, but the beloved Son, with whom God was well pleased—the divine certainty that he was indeed the King and the Servant of whom psalmist and prophet had sung.

We have considered, all too briefly, that aspect of the inner life of Jesus in which he stands alone: let us look now at such aspects of that life as more nearly touch our own. An examination of the prayer life of Jesus reveals the interesting fact that nearly all his recorded prayers are connected with crises in his mission. Doubtless his whole public ministry was rooted and grounded in private prayer, and his dying prayer, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit," was the prayer of all his life. But it is natural that most of the recorded prayers or allusions to prayer are connected with occasions of special importance. Before he chose the Twelve, for example, "He went out into the mountain to pray, and he continued all night in prayer to God." His earnest prayer which lasted "all night" is very explicable and very significant, when we consider that, humanly speaking, the whole future history of the kingdom of God upon earth depended upon his choice of these men. Similarly, all the great crises of his ministry are accompanied by prayer—the baptism, the confession of his messiahship at Caesarea Philippi, the agony of the garden, and the cross. "Now it came to pass," says Luke (3:21 f.), "when all the people were baptized, that, Jesus also having been baptized *and praying*, the Holy Spirit descended upon him." And again, "*as he was praying* apart, the disciples were with him; and he asked them, saying, Who do the multitudes say that I am?" (Luke 9:18). It was necessary that the right moment should be chosen for this confession, and on this point he must have the clear-

ness and certainty which only his Father could give him. Probably, too, his miraculous acts of healing were accompanied by prayer. It was "after looking up to heaven" that he spoke the emancipating word to the man who had been deaf and dumb. The spirit that possessed the epileptic boy at the foot of the mountain could only be cast out by prayer. All that concerned his life-work Jesus committed in prayer into his Father's hands. Often, too, we note that he is said to have spent the night in prayer after a day with the multitude. For example, in the morning of the day after he had "healed many that were sick with divers diseases, a great while before day he rose up and went out and departed into a desert place and there prayed." The strength which the work of the day had exhausted had to be recovered before facing the demands of another day; and this could best be done in the silence of the night and in quiet communion with his Father.

Confession, as we have seen, plays no part in the prayers of Jesus; but thanksgiving, intercession, and petition must have abounded. One signal difference, speaking generally, between Old Testament prayer and New, is that in the former petition predominates; in the latter, thanksgiving. This note of gratitude, which rose so naturally to the lips of men when they thought of the "unspeakable gift," was in reality caught from Jesus himself. "I thank thee, Father"—some of his recorded prayers and no doubt many of those unrecorded thus began. He offered thanks before feeding the multitude. He offered thanks because the revelation of the Father was given to the childlike of heart. Alike over earthly things and heavenly, over the bread that perisheth and the mystery of the divine will, Jesus rejoiced, and for them he thanked his Father. The few allusions to intercessory prayer give us a glimpse into the great pleading heart of Jesus, who knew our frailties, bore our griefs, and carried our sorrows. Most wonderful of all is his prayer for his tormentors, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." In his hour of keenest agony, he obeys the law which he had enjoined upon his disciples—to pray for those who abused and persecuted them. And he who interceded for cruel enemies would naturally intercede for frail friends; so we find him praying for Peter that his faith fail not, and—in John—praying for all his disciples, that they might be

preserved from the evil one and sanctified in the truth; and not for the disciples only, but for all who through them should be led to believe in him.

The petition which embraces all others, and which must have been always in the mind of Jesus and frequently upon his lips, is "Thy will be done." But this was quite consistent with specific requests, and even with prayer for material things. There is no strained or unnatural idealism in the teaching of Jesus. He frankly recognized the material substrate of our life, and did not exclude it from the sphere of prayer. He taught his disciples to pray for their daily bread, and he himself prayed in the hour of his agony that the cup might pass from him, thus legitimatizing prayer for material blessings and the alleviation of misery, and also for deliverance from distress. But infinitely deeper than the longing for deliverance was the desire that the divine will be done. "Not my will, but thine be done." In the awful agony of Gethsemane Jesus prayed that the way might not be so terrible; but, through and above all, that the will of God be done. His desire was that the Father should be glorified through his perfect obedience and submission. Once indeed it would seem as if Jesus' sustaining consciousness of fellowship with the Father was momentarily clouded. In the anguish of the cross, he meekly asks his God, in the words of an ancient psalm, why he had forsaken him. Yet this very question, wrung as it were from the very deepest depths of sorrow, shows that even then he felt himself not utterly forsaken; he could still say *my* God. And afterward the old triumphant filial consciousness reasserted itself; and, the feeling of abandonment now gone, he commended his spirit into his Father's hands.

There is no better index, within brief compass, to Jesus' conception of what is involved in communion with God, than the Lord's Prayer. True, as we have seen, it is in a sense our prayer rather than his: yet it also illustrates with singular comprehensiveness, simplicity, and power, his own attitude to God. It begins characteristically by addressing God simply as "Our Father," thus suggesting not so much his power as his affection for us his children, and reminding us of our common brotherhood to each other through our common sonship to him. In calling him the Father *in heaven*,

the heart is touched to reverence and awe, as it thinks of this Father as infinitely high above the children who cry to him—high as the heaven is above the earth. The prayer for the hallowing of his name is more comprehensive than it seems to one unfamiliar with the language of the East. The name covers everything connected with the being and character of God, and all this must be had in holiest reverence. He must be thought of and spoken of worthily. It is not only profanity that is implicitly rebuked in this petition, but every kind of levity in religious things—vulgarity, thoughtlessness, indifference, irreverence. The petition for the coming of the kingdom of God could hardly fail to find a place in the prayer of one who came to proclaim that kingdom and to usher it in. In its essence, that kingdom was moral and spiritual—as Paul says, righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit. That petition looks out upon a day, when, under the acknowledged kingship of God, all the interests and ambitions of men will be controlled by the necessities of the kingdom. But over all and in all the will of God must be supreme, and the petition that the divine will be done is in a sense the climax of the earlier part of the prayer. How simple, yet how sublime and searching these capacious phrases are! We think of the divine will as fulfilled upon the great arena of history; we think of it also as done within the compass of the individual soul. These two thoughts—the kingdom and the man—were ever present to the mind of Jesus. The sublimest illustration of this prayer for the triumph of the will of God is Jesus' own petition in Gethsemane: "Not my will, but thine be done."

From the contemplation of the divine kingdom and the divine will, we turn in the fourth petition to the needs and frailties of men. The prayer, "Give us our daily bread" is a recognition, as welcome as it is simple, of the material basis of human life. It is not a prayer for prosperity, still less for luxury, but simply for that which makes life possible, and even that simply for the day: the prayer is so worded as to encourage in us a sense of continual dependence upon God. But man needs forgiveness as well as bread; there can be no deep happiness for him, no true life at all, unless there is reconciliation with the Father; and forgiveness—we are reminded—is only possible to the man who is willing to forgive. We need further not only

forgiveness for the past, but preservation from the perils into which the temptations of the future and our own evil nature will bring us. Hence the pathetic appeal for deliverance from evil—that terrible force in human life which thwarts the Father and the establishing of his kingdom and the doing of his will.

Thus the Lord's prayer is a beautiful mirror of the consciousness of Jesus in its relation to God and to human life. Despite the peculiar intimacy of his communion with the Father, he, too, knew of that conflict with temptation, which forms the theme of the closing petitions. His temptations were not ignoble like ours, but they were real. He feels the force of it when Peter would fain divert him from the stern path which God had ordained for him. The story of the Temptation probably summarizes many experiences which came to him in the prosecution of his divinely appointed work. Everywhere there was a Satan who had to be faced and fought; and that story suggests that some of the weapons Jesus used in the fray were drawn from the armory of Old Testament Scripture. It was with three of its great words that he repelled the temptations that came to him as he solemnly faced his messianic work; it was in its words that he opened and vindicated his ministry; it was in words borrowed from it that he instituted the supper which commemorates his death; and in its words finally that he commended his spirit into his Father's hands. Jesus' communion with God was unquestionably nourished and sustained in part by loving communion, through the Scriptures, with those of his people to whom God had already spoken in the olden time. It is also significant that, for his communion with God, Jesus sought and loved the lonely places. The street corners he left to the hypocrites. His own haunts were the deserts and the mountains. Over and over again this point is made. "After he had sent the multitudes away, he went up into the mountain apart to pray; and when even was come, he was there alone" (Matt. 14:23). "In those days he went out into the mountain to pray, and he continued all night in prayer to God" (Luke 6:12). It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that Jesus inculcates the duty of secrecy in the offices of devotion. The presence of others tends to be a peril. The Father seeth in secret; therefore, "when thou prayest, enter into thine inner chamber and *shut the door.*"

The unique communion which Jesus enjoyed with the Father expressed itself in a unique sense of power, serenity, and certainty, as he prosecuted his divine mission among men. Everyone was struck by the authority with which he spoke and acted; power radiated from him. And his mighty work was done in an atmosphere of complete serenity. However cunning his opponents, however skilfully their traps are laid, however dangerous or critical the situation, however timid or perplexed those nearest to him may be, there is never any embarrassment or perplexity in him. With swift and unerring intuition he sees the thing that must be done, the word that must be said. Though his public career was crowded with incidents of the most testing and baffling kind, he has never to regret or retract. He moves serenely upon his royal way in all the security of an unclouded communion with his Father in heaven—not as one who believes, but as one who knows.

THE CORINTHIAN CORRESPONDENCE¹

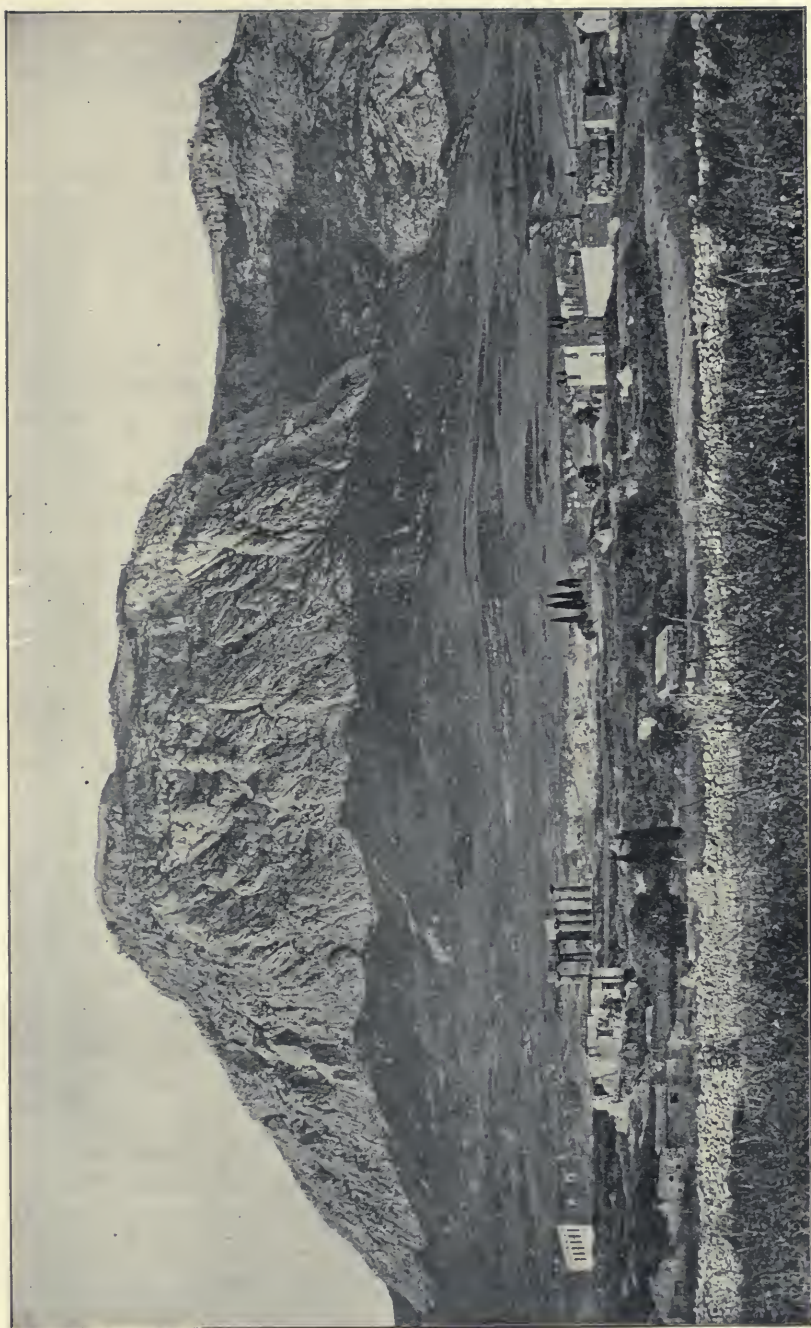
PROFESSOR SAMUEL E. CHANDLER
Austin, Texas

When Paul undertook as "Apostle to the Gentiles" to cover such a large territory, it became necessary for him to select certain centers in which he spent most of his time, and to which he gave his personal attention. The customary division of his work into "journeys" is misleading, as he spent about half of the time of his second journey in Corinth and half of his third in Ephesus. It is true that in his travels he did such work as he could in other places and that from these strategic points he reached a great deal of the surrounding territory. His chief centers were Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth, and Rome. He stayed in Corinth eighteen months and there developed a very important work, in which he took a special interest. Corinth was the fourth city of the Roman Empire, a chief station on the highway from Rome to the East. It was a great center of trade and travel by land and sea, the leading city of Greece, but cosmopolitan in population and sympathies.

It was possible for Paul to keep informed about the conditions in these scattered churches as there was frequent communication between various parts of the Empire, and especially between these centers. Travel, both for pleasure and business, was far more general than many think. A widespread public interest in whatever was taking place helped to circulate news of every kind. Letters were comparatively common, and those who could not write found professional letter-writers at every hand. These conditions helped to preserve the unity and continuity of Paul's work.

As the work grew it was impossible for one man to go in person and look after the various needs of all the churches. Paul started on his second journey with one helper, Silas, but very soon he took Timothy, and perhaps Titus and others with him. These were not only trained to work along with him, but were often sent as special

¹ This study covers the International Sunday-School Lessons for September 26, November 21, and December 5, 1909.



VIEW OF ACROCORINTHUS

messengers to look after the needs of churches already established, or to open up new fields. They were trained in doctrine and method and were often intrusted with very important missions that called for judgment and discretion. Sometimes these duties were prolonged into practical pastorates. By the use of these helpers, Paul was able to keep well informed and to exercise a careful oversight over the whole field. Whenever any irregularity developed in a church, he soon learned of it and, if it was serious, sent one of his helpers to look into it, and correct it or report to him. Sometimes the report called for a messenger to go with special instructions or a letter. When all other means failed, he went himself, if he could. We cannot appreciate the letters of Paul to the churches, unless we keep in mind the various methods of getting information and exercising oversight. He knew their needs and his letters have a directness of application that we are liable to overlook. Then, too, his letters are only a small part of the means used to accomplish his purpose. The records are too brief to tell us about all the visits of these helpers, or even about all the letters and visits of Paul. Brief incidental references give only a general setting and background for his letters.

A. FIRST CORINTHIANS

1. *Sources of information.*—After staying in Corinth eighteen months Paul concluded his second journey. He left a church composed of Jews and gentiles of different nationalities. These letters do not show that the church was fully organized and officered. If there were officers they were comparatively new converts and not yet fully informed about the new doctrine and how to conduct the affairs of the local church. Without trained leaders it is not strange that this composite church needed instruction and correction within two or three years. Paul had reached Ephesus on his third journey and had spent a year or more there. Travel between the two places was very easy and frequent and many rumors probably reached him. His work had made a great impression in both places and was the subject of frequent discussion and general interest, and perhaps his opponents took delight in spreading the news of any dissensions or shortcomings in the church, as men do today. Aquila and Priscilla were in Ephesus and, as former helpers in Corinth, they were interested

in that work, and through their friends probably helped to keep him informed. Stephanas and others had visited him, and his reference to them (Acts 16:15-18) justifies the opinion that they conferred freely with him about the condition of the church. He especially mentions the household of Chloe and gives them as authority for some of his information. Apollos had been in Corinth and was now in Ephesus and had probably given an account of affairs as he left them. Paul had written the church a letter and they had replied either asking information or explaining and defending their position. Some think that Paul had visited them himself, but it is more probable that the second visit, implied in II Cor. 13:1, was after he had written First Corinthians. Neither is it likely that Peter had been there. With all these sources of information we can understand the directness of these letters and can reasonably expect to find in them references to the existing condition in the church and not glittering generalities, or vague guesses of what might be. The content of the letters was determined by the state of affairs in the church and not simply by the subjective state of Paul's mind. It is true that when a subject was once up for discussion, it was often considered in a broad way not absolutely limited in its application to them, and sometimes one subject suggested a kindred one.

2. *Conditions of the church.*—Judging from the references in First Corinthians, after Paul left, teachers, zealous for Judaism, had reached Corinth. They sought to discredit him, saying that he was not a true apostle, that his teachings did not agree with those of the other apostles, that he had renounced Judaism, while it was well known that the original apostles were zealous for the Law, and that he had never been with Jesus. They claimed that his supporting himself was proof that he had no authority to demand his support like the other apostles. They said that he was not even eloquent or learned. They made sport of his personal appearance and argued that his simplicity of style showed intellectual weakness, and that his unselfishness and gentleness showed that he had no authority to act otherwise. The effect of this opposition was first to alienate some from him as the founder and leader of the church, and then to develop the idea of estimating teachers by personal preference, rather than by authority from God or the power of the truth. It naturally followed that unity

was broken, discipline was relaxed, and dissensions arose that threatened to divide the church into four factions, some standing for the authority and apostleship of Paul, others preferring the philosophy and eloquence of Apollos, while others claimed to follow Peter, and others Christ. Losing sight of spiritual things, they took pride in Greek learning in its place. Paul was entirely too simple to appeal to their cultured minds, and the simple gospel was not worthy of their great powers. For them religion must have a profound philosophy. Because



THE THEATER AT EPHEBUS

Looking Toward the Stage

of their interest in other things and in the heat of controversy they allowed gross immorality to go unrebuked, if not positively approved, practically separating morality from religion, a mistake that has always been too common. Their selfishness had developed into lawsuits before the civil courts. The whole question of marriage was in an unsettled state partly because of ascetic ideas opposing it altogether, and partly because some interpreted liberty as freedom from all law and restraint, running into gross immorality. Many recent converts from paganism not fully freed from old ideas, would not eat meat

offered to idols, considering this worship of idols; but those who insisted that idols were nothing at all looked with contempt upon their weaker brothers and were not willing to refrain from eating this meat, though their eating led these weaker ones astray. They emphasized what was lawful, and ignored charity for their brethren. Following this same principle of selfishness they did not even observe the Lord's Supper as brethren equal in God's house, but the rich despised the poor and neglected them in the feasts, while they feasted



THE THEATER AT EPHEBUS

The Right Wing

even to drunkenness. This ordinance of the church was thus profaned and had almost ceased to have any religious value and could not be recognized as worship. Women had begun to ignore the ordinary rules of propriety in dress, leaving off the veil, even in worship, and gave signs of exercising a liberty that might bring reproach upon the church. Even spiritual gifts had become the cause of boasting and some, claiming that their gifts were superior, looked down upon others and tried to monopolize the service. Their worship was in

confusion and impressed strangers as foolishness rather than worship. There was such a display of personal pride and such disrespect for the gifts of others, that the service was full of strife and irreverence. They especially honored tongue-speaking, and neglected instruction. Some denied the resurrection, calling in question the possibility of it, and quibbling over what seemed to them difficult.

3. *General content of the letter.*—Paul wrote First Corinthians to meet these conditions. He very tactfully began with warm words of commendation that were doubtless sincere, for there must have been some who had remained faithful and others who possessed many good traits. He first criticized them for divisions, appealing to them in Christ's name not to divide the headship of the church by exalting individual workers, for, he argued, the essential idea of the ministry is subordination to Christ and unity in him. He urged them not to exalt philosophy and eloquence into rivalry with the gospel, for they cannot take the place of Christ and spiritual things. Although the spirit of the gospel is simplicity and meekness, there are profound truths revealed by God to the spiritual only, which they, as "babes and carnal," were not ready to receive. Paul seemed to be free from personal pride and pique and did not charge Peter or Apollos with encouraging these divisions. He emphasized the greater importance of morality, which they had neglected, and insisted that the church in an orderly way expel the offender for the purity and safety of the church, and with the hope that it might prove good for the man himself. He told them that immorality was both essentially sinful and destructive. He expressed great surprise that they had dared to bring their differences before the civil courts instead of submitting them to arbitration in the church in the usual way. He appealed to them to suffer wrong rather than to bring shame upon the church in this way. In answering their questions about marriage, he expressed the judgment that under existing conditions it was better not to marry, but that it was perfectly proper to marry, and preferable to being impure in deed or even in desire. He did not give a command, but simply expressed an opinion and left each man to act on his own judgment. He urged that those who were already married should be true to their duties of marriage, and that even those who had married unbelievers should remain with them, if their unbelieving husbands and wives

were willing. From this as a basis he enlarged the thought, and insisted that believers remain in the relation in which they were before they believed, even though at personal sacrifice, lest their restlessness bring reproach upon the gospel by subjecting it to the charge that it was revolutionary and demoralizing. In discussing the problem of meats offered to idols, he appealed to those who claimed that idols were nothing at all, and that they could eat without danger, not to let their knowledge cause the weaker brother to go astray, saying that love which builds up is better than selfish knowledge that puffs up. In regard to lawfulness and expediency he announced the great principle that only that which is helpful and edifying is proper for a Christian, and that every action should be measured by this standard, that men should not try to find out what they might be allowed to do, but that which would help others and build up the cause of Christ. He asserted that he acted upon this principle and labored for his own support when he had a right to call upon the church to provide for him and that he would do without meat forever, if it caused his weaker brother to offend. He advised that women should continue to wear the veil during the services, and keep the place which they had from the creation. He argued the propriety of it, but said that if any did not accept his argument, they must at least submit to the custom. His criticism of their observance of the Lord's Supper was that they got no good out of it, and did no good by observing it, because it was done neither for the glory of the Lord, nor for the good of the church. They were keeping it for the pleasure of eating and drinking, in pride and selfishness, and they failed to see or think of Christ in his own memorial. He restated the origin of it and instructed them to satisfy their hunger at home, to wait one for another, and to observe it as a memorial of Christ. He showed the absurdity of their pride in spiritual gifts, since God gives to each man severally as he wills, and to all as members of one body, he giving special honor to the less comely parts. He especially censured their abuse of these God-given gifts in the worship of God, as the people were neither instructed nor edified. He rebuked them for interrupting one another, which made them appear as fools rather than worshipers. As they especially boasted of tongue-speaking, he ordered them to restrict its use to the time when interpreters were present, and then not permit more than

two to exercise the same gift at a service. He expressed a preference for the edifying exhortation of the prophet as compared with the meaningless utterance of one speaking in a tongue. He reached the climax when he told them of love, not itself a "gift" but the only proper way of exercising every gift. He answered the doubt about the resurrection by reference to numerous well-attested appearances of Jesus; he said that the whole gospel stood or fell with the resurrection, that if it was not true there was no hope, and that they were false witnesses and their preaching was vain. He argued that the tendency of this denial was to break down all inducements to live a pure and self-denying life. To Paul, this argument, leading to absurdity, was not to be entertained; if the tendency of a belief is toward laxness, or immorality, it must be rejected. Those who claimed that they could not believe because they could not understand how the dead could live again, were reminded of plant life that has its growth from decaying seed, and as the plant is unlike the tiny seed, so the spiritual body is different from the natural body. He then described the glory of the saints after the triumph over death and urged the Corinthians to stand fast, assured that their labor would not be in vain in the Lord.

B. SECOND CORINTHIANS

First Corinthians was probably sent by Stephanas. The bearer of the letter would naturally try to see that the instructions were carried out and that the great principles were applied. It seems that it was not well received, and that Paul's authority was not recognized. There were probably other messengers sent who tried to bring about the desired results and perhaps Paul himself made a special visit, trying by his personal presence to set things right. Some think that he was insulted while there, but others hold that the insult was to Timothy as his special messenger. It is supposed by some that Paul then wrote the severe letter, now lost, although many claim that this letter referred to was First Corinthians. The more recent theory that divides Second Corinthians into several parts, making chaps. 10 to 13 the harsh letter, is held by an increasing number of scholars, but the arguments are not conclusive. This severe letter seems to have been sent in care of Titus. Soon after this Paul was forced to leave Ephesus. He met Titus in Macedonia and was encouraged by the

report that the Corinthians had carried out his instructions, and were loyal to him. He promptly wrote our second letter.

The second epistle shows very little doctrinal trouble in the church and, judging by the emphasis placed upon the subject, their chief trouble was an inadequate view of the gospel. Because of this they failed properly to understand the motives and authority of the ministry, especially of Paul and his claims to the apostleship. These views involved, of course, the whole question of authority in the organized church, and their loyalty thereto. Paul emphasized his own sincerity and love for the church, as a true minister of Christ. He then expressed gratitude that they had shown their obedience to him, and had maintained the authority of the church.

Having in his previous letter to them given various proofs of his apostleship, in this letter he especially emphasized what God by his grace had enabled him to do in their midst, and the trials he had endured for the sake of the gospel. He not only dwelt upon the grace that made him an apostle, but turned their attention to the wonderful message of Christ's reconciling the world to himself, and to the glories of immortality. He expressed feelingly his desire to build them up in the grace of God and thus showed himself a true minister of Christ. The collection for the saints at Jerusalem was urged and the manner in which it should be taken given in detail, with instructions to send it by someone else, so that he would not be liable to the charge of using it. Paul visited them after this, and the few later references indicate that his authority was fully established, and that he continued to take a special interest in them.

C. THE IMPORTANCE OF THESE EPISTLES

The genuineness of these letters is disputed by very few. They were freely used and referred to in the early church, the first letter was definitely mentioned by Clement of Rome in the first century, and early in the second century both epistles seem to be known. The setting is true to the times, the conditions and the details are well given, and the style and contents fully establish Paul as the author.

These are among the most popular of Paul's letters, and the frequency of their use gives them an unbroken history and a general acceptance. They are very useful and deal with the most practical

affairs of life. He discussed marriage, the permanence of the family, purity, intercourse with their neighbors and the pagan society around them, propriety of dress, the practical duties of citizenship; the relation of the church to the civil courts, to Greek philosophy, and to the church as a whole; the relation of rights to duty, the details of worship, the Lord's Supper, the exercise of spiritual gifts, the practical duties of ministers to the church and to Christ, Christian liberty and consideration for the weak, and a wonderful chapter on love. These practical subjects, together with the great discussion of the resurrection and the glory of the saints, engage the attention of Christians of every age.

One special attraction in these letters is Paul, the man, shown in his writings. He is such a true man in his sympathy and feelings. Sometimes his feelings almost overcome his judgment, but at least there is the beauty of his personal sympathy. Then there is the picture of the early church in its worship, and of its everyday problems as they arose. Nowhere in the New Testament are there so many details and incidents given that throw light upon the times in general and the early church in its practical life.

Book Reviews

Introduction to the Hebrew Bible. By A. S. GEDEN. Edinburgh: Clark; New York: Scribner, 1909. xv+367 pages. \$3.50.

One of the great problems connected with the study of the Old Testament is that of the text. To regain its first estate has kindled the hopes and inspired the labors of many scholars. Transmitted through the centuries in separate books or small collections of books, it comes at last to be united into one volume in comparatively recent times. Our fathers knew it as come down from God, complete, never having been in any other form or condition. But our age has learned the art of asking questions. Why are the books in their present order when it does not agree with that of the bibles of many lands, nor with the original ancient records? By what paths have these come hither and how have they fared on the way? Our estimation of the character of the biblical message will depend in part on our knowledge of the ancestry of the text. The problem of the accuracy of transmission, of total or partial loss, of addition and change, may be serious if not vital. To satisfy our hearts we must search the highways of the years, we must call on the ages to produce the jewels they have received and given in heritage, that at last we may come back to the setting of the crown in its primal beauty.

All these things have been in the mind of our author. The present volume is a helpful sketch of the manuscripts, documents, versions, and editions which connect our Old Testament text with its earliest known form. The writer has prefaced the main thesis of the book by a short résumé of the Semitic family of languages of which those of the Old Testament were no mean members. There follows a review of the origin, character, extent, and later modifications of the art of writing among the Hebrews. When their language had passed from daily life and was retained in sacred use, we find later generations devising a vocalic system to transmit unimpaired the proper readings of a vowelless script. Through this medium Jewish scholars have given us the text as it existed in their day. These Massorites, or scribes, worked with painstaking care. They gathered earlier translations, traditions, and textual readings—the Targums, Kabbalah, and Keri's—and prepared a great collection of notes, critical discussions, and explanations, called the Massorah. The vast amount of labor they expended and the diligence with which they sought to transmit the text accurately, may be estimated from the fact that they

counted the number of verses in each book, marked its middle point, took careful knowledge of the conventional signs, and tabulated these mechanical data at the close of the book.

But our materials are not confined to Jewish sources or records. The biographies of the great versions of the early centuries is extremely interesting and compels conviction of their importance for present research. We are dependent upon them in large measure for the success that we have attained. They enable us to antedate by centuries the earliest Hebrew sources. Beginning with the Syriac versions the author goes on to a lengthy description of the Septuagint to which, because of its origin, aim, and character, no other document can approach in importance. The early Greek versions, such as those of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, are noted for striking characteristics so helpful to our purpose. Zealous efforts to correct corruptions are met with in Origen, Lucian, and Hesychius whose texts became rivals for acknowledgment as the standard Septuagint. The Latin versions are next in order. Their history and relations are discussed, as likewise the one which stands as a monument to Jerome's zeal and scholarship. The activity of the present Pope in endeavoring to secure a revision of the Vulgate gives it added interest for our day. Then follow the histories of the Egyptian, Ethiopic, Arabic, Armenian, Georgian, and Gothic versions. Thus in review there passes before us the succession of the priceless documents which have involved heroic labors, inspired hidden sacrifice, and, in the hour of calamity, have been secreted at the price of life itself.

With the introduction of printing we enter upon a period of noble tasks. Beginning with a printed edition of the Psalms in 1477 we find the first complete Hebrew Bible printed in 1488. The first manual edition was issued from the Bomberg press in Venice in 1517. Several rabbinic Bibles under the editorship of able Jewish scholars soon followed. The *Biblia Magna Rabbinica* having text, commentaries, notes, and Targums was published in 1724-27. A marked advance was made in the study of the text by Dr. Benjamin Kennicott, professor of Hebrew in Oxford, by whom many manuscripts were collated and the variant readings noted. His work appeared in 1776-80. All the great Polyglot Bibles have the Hebrew text. In our own generation we have critical editions of the texts of each of the books published separately. These represent the work of the ripest and best scholarship of modern times.

The closing chapter is mostly foreign to the author's theme and sets forth at too great a length his solution of the Pentateuchal problem. The book is well illustrated, is written in a popular style, commands a subject

of keen interest and growing appreciation for the student of the Old Testament, and should have a place in every up-to-date library.

R. H. MODE

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Modern Research as Illustrating the Bible. The Schweich Lectures, 1908. By S. R. DRIVER, D.D., Litt.D. London: Oxford University Press, 1909. viii+95 pages. 3s.

In view of the fact that the three lectures published in this volume are the introductory course of lectures on the Schweich foundation,¹ Professor Driver saw fit, "firstly (Lecture I) to give some account of the progress that had been made during the past century in the principal branches of research enumerated in the trust deed, and afterward (Lectures II and III) to give an outline of the new knowledge respecting Palestine which had been obtained recently, partly from the inscriptions, and partly from the excavations in Palestine itself, which had formed during the last ten years such an important and interesting development of archaeological investigation." The first half of the book, therefore, summarizes the results of the travels, explorations, and excavations carried on in Egypt, Babylonia, Arabia, and the countries which were occupied by the more immediate neighbors of ancient Israel, while the second half takes up more in detail the excavations in Canaan itself.

Although necessarily but a rapid survey of the results of these excavations, etc., upon the interpretation of the Bible, this book is especially welcome as the work of one who is primarily a biblical scholar. Of the vast number of books, pamphlets, and articles upon the light which the excavations, especially those in Assyria and Babylonia, have thrown upon the Old Testament, the majority have been written, not by Old Testament scholars, but by Assyriologists or theologians. Most of the former are pan-Babylonians—Winckler and his school—who see in Israel nothing but a small border state dominated politically and intellectually by Babylonia, and in the Old Testament a mere reflection of the Babylonian *Weltanschauung*. The latter gladly accept some or all of the "results" of the excavations, but succeed in harmonizing them with the traditional interpretation of the Old Testament. Both parties seem to be agreed upon one point, namely, that archaeology has completely overthrown the

¹ The Schweich Trust was founded in 1907 in memory of the late Leopold Schweich of Paris. The trust fund is to be devoted "to the furtherance of research in the archaeology, art, history, languages, and literature of ancient civilization with reference to biblical study."

"theories" of the critics. Professor Driver gives us the plain statements of the inscriptions, and, when they agree with the parallel records of the Old Testament, notes the agreement. But when they do not agree, he makes no attempt to harmonize or explain away the disagreement, nor does he seek to discredit the inscriptions by telling us that the Assyrian and Babylonian kings were wicked, cruel, self-seeking, and therefore their accounts are not reliable. It must be confessed that Professor Driver lays too little rather than too much stress upon the influence of Babylonia upon Israel. But as he says, the question is too large a one to take up in these lectures, and he therefore merely states his conclusion that this "influence was real, but not extensive, and confined to externals."

The discussion of the early history of Canaan as learned from the Tell el-Amarna letters and the Egyptian inscriptions is excellent. The criticism of the biblical accounts of the Exodus in view of the inscriptions of Merneptah and other Pharaohs, might have been more radical. But here too it may be wiser to hold "our judgment in suspense."

In the second half of the book which takes up the excavations at Tell el-Hesi, the ancient Lachish, Gezer, Taanach, Jericho, and other Palestinian mounds, especial attention is given to the "religious antiquities"—high-places, mazzebahs, figures of the goddess Ashtoreth, human sacrifices, foundation sacrifices, lamp and bowl deposits, and other objects which have to do with the cults of the ancient inhabitants of Canaan. Beyond any doubt the excavations in Palestine itself afford us the best means of understanding the early religion of Israel as well as its later development. For they demonstrate clearly that there was no abrupt break between the Canaanite and Israelite civilizations, but that the latter superseded the former only after a struggle which spread over centuries, and by a conquest by assimilation rather than by arms. This conclusion had been arrived at by a critical study of the Old Testament itself even before excavations in Palestine were begun. The excavations have not only demonstrated the correctness of this conclusion, but they have furnished the means of reconstructing a fairly accurate picture of the Canaanite civilization and religion. And thus we understand better than ever before the meaning of the protests of the prophets against "following after Baal."

Professor Driver justly criticizes many of the interpretations of Old Testament passages suggested by the excavators in Palestine on the strength of the results of their excavations. This suggests the last point to be made in this review, namely, the necessity of subjecting the results of the excavations to the critical examination of Old Testament scholars. The excavators are either by nature, or in some cases, by necessity, too apt to

be ultra-conservative. But just as the critical student of the Old Testament is more likely to see the bearing of the results of the excavations upon the interpretation of the Old Testament, so the critical historian must be appealed to for the correct interpretation of the historical movements underlying the different strata brought to light by the excavator. The important historical problem today is to trace the movements of the Mediterranean peoples, of whom the Philistines were a part, in Palestine, and to determine their influence.

D. D. LUCKENBILL

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How God Has Spoken: Or, Divine Revelation in Nature, in Man, in Hebrew History, and in Jesus Christ. By JOHN WILSON, M.A., D.D. Edinburgh: Clark; New York: Scribner, 1909. xvi + 344 pages. \$2.00.

From his exile home in Switzerland the author pours forth his soul in glowing language regarding "the unfolding process of divine revelation in its successive stages and progressive unity." Forced to abandon regular pastoral work on account of ill health, he has found among the Alps prolonged life and has used his time with profit. His style is easy, flowing, and at times eloquent, and his spirit is religious and enthusiastic. His task is to answer the question: "How far is the character of the God depicted in the Christian revelation commensurate with the grandeur of the material cosmos, as exhibited in the most recent results of science?"

In working out our thesis, we obtain glimpses of a great purpose unfolding from age to age, alike in the molecular constitution of matter; in the origin, growth, and decay of solar systems; in the emergence and maintenance of life; in the nature and history of man, especially in Hebrew history; and in the advent of One who has been declared to be the manifestation in human form of that divine Logos, who was the agent in creation and the basis and prototype of all divine revelation (pp. vii, viii).

The five parts are as follows: "Revelation of God in Nature," "Revelation of God in Man's Nature," "Revelation of God in Hebrew Religion," "Revelation of God by Incarnation," "Revelation of God in the Atonement." The conclusion is that the successive stages of revelation are closely linked together; that the Hebrew revelation, though imperfect, presented a loftier view of the character of God than did any preceding or contemporary religion; and that in Christ we find the culmination of the divine revealing purpose.

The author cherishes the hope that his book "may be found a useful compendium of information, and especially that some earnest souls among

the younger generation may receive helpful inspiration and guidance from its pages." Doubtless many will be profited, but not chiefly "among the younger generation." The problems do not present themselves to the author in the way in which they are felt today. To be sure, he has been at great pains, as he says:

One great difficulty has been to condense the available material into a sufficiently limited compass; and what here appears is scarcely one-third of what has been actually written, whilst the bibliography of works consulted for each chapter would frequently occupy many pages (p. xi).

If so, the works consulted must in considerable measure have been the wrong ones, or else they were not used to the best advantage. For example, the author states that he has kept in view and duly considered such questions as that of the sources of our knowledge of Jesus, "but since this department of the subject assumed too extensive proportions to be incorporated with this work, it has been reserved for separate publication" (p. ix). But the parts of the work that have to do with the historical Jesus betray slight familiarity with the present status of literary and historical criticism. His favorite gospel for proof-texts appears to be the Fourth.

The book manifests no captiousness or dogmatism. One must admire the fervent and truly religious spirit of the author, his love of the natural sciences, and many beautiful thoughts to which he gives expression. In its mechanical features the book is attractive, in spite of several typographical errors.

JOHN C. GRANBERY

CHICAGO, ILL.

New Literature

The most important books listed in these columns will receive notice in the book-review pages.

OLD TESTAMENT

ARTICLES

EERDMANS, B. D. "The Book of the Covenant and the Decalogue," *The Expositor*, July, 1909, pp. 21-33.

Setting aside the generally accepted theory of the analysis of the Hexateuch in favor of one of his own making, Eerdmans strives to demonstrate the Mosaic origin of these laws.

WOODS, F. H. "Ezekiel, chap. iv: A Psychological and Pathological Problem," *Ibid.*, pp. 48-55.

A clever suggestion as to the meaning of the account of Ezekiel's strange actions. The prophet was paralyzed for the time in question; he interpreted this affliction as a command of Jehovah.

LANGDON, S. "Babylon at the Time of the Exile," *Ibid.*, pp. 82-96.

The first of a series of articles on this theme. This one is occupied with the setting forth of the plan of the city of Babylon as it has been revealed by the excavations now in progress there under German direction. The accounts of Herodotus are thereby shown to be largely fanciful.

PORTER, F. C. "The Bearing of Historical Studies on the Historical Use of the Bible," *The Harvard Theological Review*, July, 1909, pp. 253-76.

An evaluation of the effects of historical criticism upon the use of the Scriptures. Fine discrimination and penetrating insight make this an article of great helpfulness to the modern student.

EERDMANS, B. D. "A New Development in Old Testament Criticism," *The Hibbert Journal*, July, 1909, pp. 813-26.

The "new development" is the fresh view of the origin of the early Old Testament literature for which Eerdmans himself is responsible. He would do away with the J, E, and P documents of the Hexateuch and substitute a new analysis which in some respects is more subversive of traditional views than the current hypothesis has been.

KLEINERT, P. "Zur Religions- und Kulturgeschichtlichen Stellung des Buches Koheleth," *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, July, 1909, pp. 493-529.

An exposition of the view that Ecclesiastes was called forth as a Jewish apologetic by the life-and-death struggle which set in between Greek and Hebrew ideals in Palestine immediately after the conquest by Alexander.

NEW TESTAMENT

BOOKS

CALLUAUD, PIERRE. *Le problème de la résurrection du Christ. Etude des diverses hypothèses.* (Bibliothèque de Critique Religieuse.) Paris: Nourry, 1909. Pp. 158. Fr. 2.50.

After reviewing the various theories of the resurrection—revivification, vision, spiritual body, and apparent death, the writer settles upon the last as most deserving of notice, and after examining the objections to it, declares it, although by no means free from difficulties, the most likely explanation. He offers little new and nothing convincing, however, in support of this view, which presents insuperable moral difficulties.

WORSLEY, F. W. *The Fourth Gospel and the Synoptists*. Edinburgh: Clark, 1909. Pp. 181.

Mr. Worsley institutes a comparison of the Fourth Gospel with the Synoptic Gospels from various points of view and finds his results by no means inconsistent with the apostolic authorship of the Gospel of John. While his study shows some acuteness and originality, he is not always fully alive to the difficulties of the traditional position, as, for example, in his discussion of the testimony of Papias. He has produced an interesting, but somewhat *ex parte* treatment of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel, but his study hardly justifies the conclusion that he bases upon it, nor is his attitude toward Johannine criticism always fair.

PFEIDERER, OTTO. *Primitive Christianity: Its Writings and Teachings in Their Historical Connections*. Translated by W. Montgomery. Vol. II. New York: Putnam, 1909. Pp. 510. \$3.00.

The translation of Professor Pfeiderer's *Primitive Christianity* is bringing that valuable work within the reach of English readers. The second volume discusses the Synoptic Gospels, Acts, the preaching of Jesus, and the faith of the first disciples. The work is well known in German, and its translator has performed an important service for New Testament study by putting it into English.

ARTICLES

SANDERS, H. A. "Age and Ancient Home of the Biblical Manuscripts in the Freer Collection," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1909, pp. 130-41.

Professor Sanders reports that his gospel manuscript contains one quire written in a different hand from the rest of the manuscript. He inclines to the curious view that this quire is a remnant of the parent manuscript from which the rest (excepting Matthew) was copied. The reference to Timothy in the subscription to Mark leads Professor Sanders to think that these manuscripts once belonged to a church of Timothy near the pyramids, which he finds mentioned in Abu Salih. The grounds presented in support of this seem hardly sufficient. Excellent facsimiles enrich this important paper.

RELATED SUBJECTS

BOOKS

TIPPY, W. M. *The Socialized Church*. Addresses before the First National Conference of the Social Workers of Methodism, St. Louis, November 17-19, 1908. New York: Eaton and Mains, 1909. Pp. 288. \$1.00.

Evidences of the church's interest and activity along social lines such as are afforded by the convention of Methodists here reported and the systematic effort of the Presbyterians to study the labor question and help in its solution are the best signs of the vitality and modernness of Christianity.

BATTEN, S. Z. *The Christian State: The State, Democracy, and Christianity*. Philadelphia: The Griffith & Rowland Press, 1909. Pp. 458. \$1.50.

A good solid book the reading of which would awaken many a man from his lethargy as a citizen and convert him into an active helper in the task of making state and national life to conform more and more closely to the ideal of the kingdom of God. Dr. Batten is conversant with the best literature upon his subject.

FOSTER, E. C. *The Boy and the Church*. Philadelphia: The Sunday School Times Co., 1909. Pp. 188. \$0.75.

A capital little book of practical advice for grown-ups in their well-meant efforts to be of help to boys.



THE MOLE OF CÆSAREA, LOOKING SEAWARD

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Editorial

THE NEW ETHICS AND THE HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE BIBLE

Very much attention in recent years has been given to the relation between the Bible and what is somewhat vaguely described as the "new theology." In so far as critical methods of biblical study have been used by pastors in the practical work of the church attention has been generally given to the intellectual problems of religious faith. The importance of setting forth religious belief in such a way that it shall not be disastrously affected by the science of our day is too evident to need defense; for unless one's religious convictions can find a positive place in one's total view of reality, religion can affect only a fraction of one's life.

THE NEW METHOD IN ETHICS

Quite as important, however, as the new theology, is the new ethics. The days when men were prepared for the practical issues of life by studying "moral philosophy" are fast passing away. In the place of the old appeals to the sanctity of the moral law or to the authority of a priori intuitions has come the method of studying human history in order to find out why human behavior is valued as it is. A recent book on modern ethics takes as a text for its discussion Bishop Butler's well-known sentence, "Things and actions are what they are and the consequences of them will be what they will be; why should we desire to be deceived?" The modern moralist undertakes a genetic study of human conduct, seeking to show just what exigencies of human life demand that certain courses of conduct be viewed with approval.

It used to be a source of great perplexity to moralists to discover

that actions which we are accustomed to call right are frequently called wrong by other races and other civilizations. The new ethics finds the explanation for these differences in the diversity which obtains in conditions of human life. In the primitive life of the clan, for example, the rights of the individual in the modern sense received almost no recognition. The sin of Achan involved innocent persons in the punishment for that sin. But our modern social consciousness feels the injustice of this ideal. It is to be expected that the moral precepts of mankind will change with changing circumstances of life.

THE PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL ETHICS

This newer point of view takes account of the vital relationship between codes of ethics and contemporary social welfare. It regards moral precepts as instruments by which the social group asserts and maintains its welfare. From this point of view it becomes impossible for a man to have an adequate moral education unless he has an intelligent conception of the nature of the social organism of which he is a member.

The new ethics then is vitally related to history rather than to abstract philosophy. It seeks to ascertain correct principles of conduct by an inductive study of the facts of human life rather than by the analysis of a philosophical ideal. It appeals to the emotional and social needs of mankind quite as much as to the formal principles of rational consistency. It leads the student to expect that each particular social exigency will demand its specific type of ethics, and it seeks to furnish reliable guidance by setting forth the inductive principles on the basis of which human conduct may be rightly valued.

IS THE BIBLE A COMPENDIUM OF ETHICS?

The older ethical teacher used, as a basis of moral instruction, some textbook which expounded the content of the moral law. A theologian who regarded the Bible as a compendium of moral precepts was thus adopting a method of instruction quite in harmony with that which prevailed in secular education. But even so, many difficulties presented themselves. What shall we say concerning the commands of Jehovah in the Old Testament to exterminate the women

and children of a vanquished foe? How shall we account for the fact that the Old Testament heroes indulged in a polygamy forbidden by our modern laws? How can we teach total abstinence from a Bible which represents Jesus as partaking of wine at feasts, and which even tells how he miraculously produced wine from water on one occasion when the supply fell short? Such are some of the questions which immediately arise if one attempts to derive the content of ethics exclusively from the Bible. Nor is this all. Not only does the Bible apparently fail to condemn practices which our own moral sense must condemn, but it also fails to mention some of the problems which are foremost in our modern life. How, for example, can a Christian gain an intelligent understanding of the issues at stake in the modern conflict between capital and labor if he simply confine himself to a reading of the Bible? How shall he gain defensible moral convictions concerning the ethics of child labor if he confine his attention to a literature which never dreamed of the possibility of modern factories and machinery? One result of the attempt to use the Bible as a compendium of ethics is to be seen in the presence in our churches of thousands of conscientious Christians who are entirely devoid of sensitiveness to those moral issues which are most real in our modern industrial and social life. It is quite possible, therefore, for one whose moral education has been derived from such a study of the Bible to believe himself to be a conscientious Christian while at the same time seeming to others to be lacking in real interest in pressing moral problems.

THE HISTORICAL METHOD OF BIBLICAL STUDY AND PRACTICAL EFFICIENCY

Critical methods of studying the Bible have arisen not so much out of a desire to promote the practical interests of the Christian life as out of the intellectual necessity of using in the realm of biblical study the same scientific tools which men are elsewhere using. Scholars who use these scientific methods are all too familiar with the reproach that they are blighting the religious life of the churches. This accusation is no more true of modern critical study than of scholastic critical study. Whenever a biblical scholar, whatever his theological attitude, devotes himself exclusively to technical questions of author-

ship and text, composition and exegesis, he cannot expect to exercise much immediate influence on the emotions and activities of men in general. The historical method of Bible-study, however, even when it is most severely technical, has this advantage over the scholastic method, that it leads theological students to study the life portrayed in the Bible in exactly the way in which the secular teacher of ethics is studying the life of mankind at large. The modern biblical scholar cannot fail to notice the way in which moral ideals grew out of specific historical and social needs. From this point of view those moral ideals in the Bible which are inapplicable today cause him no more perplexity than do the moral ideals of ancient Greece which are likewise inapplicable. The outcome of the historical method of biblical study, therefore, is to induce in the student the habit of correlating moral and religious convictions with the life in which those convictions play a positive part. As he observes the evolution of political and social life in Bible times and sees the consequent evolution of moral and religious ideals, it becomes perfectly natural for him to employ in the attempt to understand the life of his own day and generation those very principles which have proved to be fruitful in the understanding of the Bible. He is thus prepared in spirit to make a positive and efficient use of the help which social science and history furnish in the analysis and solution of our own moral problems. The general adoption of the historical method of studying the Bible will inevitably result in a greater practical efficiency of Bible students in efforts at moral and social reform.

THE HISTORICAL METHOD AND THE ETHICS OF JESUS

When one turns to the gospels one cannot fail to be impressed with the way in which Jesus taught morality directly from life rather than by the methods of the scribes. He determined what was right in any instance by examining the situation itself. When sickness needed to be healed the interests of suffering mankind were of more importance to him than the Jewish legislation concerning the Sabbath. One is to determine whether fasting is morally desirable or not by consulting the actual circumstances of life and not by appealing to some code of precepts. The method of Jesus may then be called genuinely empirical. The moral ideals of Jesus are completely in

accord with the empirical spirit of modern ethics, which would seek to determine our conduct by an intelligent understanding of the actual exigencies of human life. Thus it appears that the historical method of studying the Bible not only brings one into sympathy with modern methods of ethical investigation but also brings one closer to the spirit of Jesus himself than did the older method, which was parallel to that of the scribes. Is it not time that we should cease to apologize for this method of biblical study which has been universally adopted in our seminaries? Should we not rather recognize the latent power to be derived from it in making pastors more efficient in the practical Christian work of our age than was ever possible under the older method? Above all, is it not time that secular scholars, who are too often ignorant of the existence of any theology except that patterned after the method of the scribes, should recognize that in the pastors whose training has been secured by the newer methods of Bible-study they may find their most efficient allies in the modern warfare against the evils which are so important factors in life today? The historical method of biblical study will thus have a large share in bringing about the christianizing of our modern civilization.

THE PERSONAL RELIGION OF JESUS

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The very title means that Christian scholarship has learned to distinguish later conceptions and interpretations of religion from the presentation made by Jesus himself. For illustration we need only compare the views of the bishops in the Council of Chalcedon in the fifth century with the Sermon on the Mount. The fathers of Chalcedon honestly believed that the religion of Jesus as it had come down from the beginning was a metaphysical truth of the interfusion of eternal divine substance with mortal human substance, whereby the human was made capable of eternity of being. Christian discipleship meant the acceptance of this metaphysical truth on the authority of the church, and, secondly, the reception of the eucharistic bread and wine in which the union of two natures and the deification of man was conveyed from Christ to the believer. But in the Sermon on the Mount there is not a word of all this. There we have another theme and one more inspiring to the conduct of life. There the question is what kind of character in man shall show him likest God in character, and so heir to the blessings of divine companionship, a citizen in God's kingdom. Within the New Testament itself there are added interpretations and later developments, but the New Testament writings never lose sight of that which Jesus himself made the essence of all religion. Paul tells the Corinthians that many intense experiences and many vividly defined ideas shared by him and them are transient, while the permanent and central thing is that Christian life of which he chants a hymn in the name of love. This life—which is the very life expounded in the Sermon on the Mount—he calls the miracle of miracles. It is the divine life taking possession of man. Paul's theological ideas can be seen in the light of explanations of the attainment of so supreme a gift of the divine to the human. The beautiful first Johannine epistle, again, has for its one great idea the fact that the Christian character of love is the very indwelling of God in man. Here again there is fidelity to the preaching of Jesus.

But, on the other hand, the Johannine gospel, as we have come to see, presents the life and teachings of Jesus in a form of missionary propaganda. The life that Jesus taught and kindled is meeting the conflict of the mission field. To cleave to it or reject it is to accept or deny the spiritual mastery of Jesus. Therefore the gospel is written to set forth the supreme validity of Jesus as a spokesman of God and the gospel uses forms of thought which had come to pass since the time of Jesus himself.

The Christian church is therefore now constrained to turn to the older gospels for the true record of the preaching of Jesus and to see in the first and third, the gospels of Matthew and Luke, collections which but enrich the plain and fundamental and earlier narrative of Mark. Our first three gospels also allow some criticism, and a critic by profession is led into many subtle and complicated views concerning the details. These discussions gratify our persistent inquisitiveness, but, after all, for all important interests, the gospels tell their own story to the plain reader who seeks to know the religion of Jesus, and every reader can be critical enough if he reads them with one simple distinction in mind. For, as most men now agree, there was a public preaching of Jesus, and there were private and personal confidences with those intimate disciples who shared with him the faith of his messiahship. To the gospel writers, as for us, both public and private utterances were of everlasting significance, and writing in days when that which had been secret and hid from the many was now proclaimed on the housetop, they did not always accurately assign the more private and personal utterances to their separate place. Nevertheless, you and I can easily make the discrimination. Having a thrilling consciousness of a supreme commission, Jesus kept it for himself and his faithful few as ground for assurance that God would vindicate his proclamations in the great day when all should be known. Tell no man, he bids them, and in his public ministry he shows a majestic, a sublime reserve concerning himself. He will not exalt himself. He waits for the Father to instal him in that office for which he sees himself called. He shares with a few only that secret consciousness which is the justification of his daring simplification of religion, his sovereign analysis of the inheritance of Israel, his faith and

heroism in the experience of odium and failure and death. However momentous for him, and however significant for us, this consciousness of messianic commission, let us recognize the fact that it was a secret hid from the multitude, and not therefore made a necessary element of the religious demands on other men. Out of it came dogma, but Jesus did not make dogma. It was not used as a constraint of conscience, a test of allegiance for other men. When Jesus sent out missionary preachers to summon men to readiness for the kingdom of God, he did not charge them to proclaim anything concerning himself, his authority, his destiny. He did not declare, or bid others declare, what part he should fill in the great dawning of a perfect world. This is a significant and illuminating fact. It means that in all his public preaching Jesus is addressing men on the basis of the truth which was already the possession of Israel. No one has applied this obvious fact so instructively as the great Catholic scholar, the Abbé Loisy. Jesus revealed nothing—so Loisy puts it pungently and sharply. Jesus is *preaching* to awaken men with the revelation they have already. The ideas belong to the tradition of Israel. Israel named God Father. Israel trusted in God's moral providence. From Israel's Holy Word Jesus quotes the mandates to love God supremely and the neighbor as preciously as we should love self. "What shall I do to inherit eternal life?" asks the young man, and Jesus bids him consult the Law. Jesus proclaims the impending advent of the kingdom. Society had already been profoundly stirred by the same proclamation from John the Baptist, and we find in the discourses of our Master, not new explanations of the idea of the kingdom, but impassioned insistence that men shall be ready for the kingdom. They are the discourses of the preacher winning souls rather than of the teacher disclosing mysteries hitherto unknown. Let us look at these public appeals, which are neither dogma nor law.

Jesus says: The perfect order of life is at hand, therefore be ready now to live in it. Have the perfect heart now. It is a world of unselfishness, therefore subordinate the lust of possession, the lust for power. This is not the language of a mechanical asceticism making war upon natural needs. God means men to have food and raiment, he says, and we are to pray for sustenance, though in words

that renounce brooding anxiety and greed of much possession. Trust in the bounty of providence, responsive to your labor, but seek first of all, and above all, the spirit which alone capacitates for life in a perfect world. Jesus means that we must deliver the whole heart to the greater good; be single, have but one dominating purpose, and follow it relentlessly without a backward look. Seek that good as the trader seeks the priceless pearl, sacrificing all to obtain it. Subordinate all to the quest, even the desire of life itself. All this means that we are to live now as the coming perfection demands, to live with the sternest practical idealism, to disengage the heart from all compromises with a world not dominated by the law of the perfect. This is the uncompromising appeal which forever agitates the generations of men and awakens them to a sense of the illimitableness of the spiritual nature. Jesus claims a radical adjustment of the soul, a radical and sovereign aim and spirit, rather than a set of habits and rules.

This discernment enables us to determine what discipleship means. The Pharisees, as well as Jesus, spoke of righteousness as the condition of salvation, but they meant a set of abstinences or performances. The kingdom would be a reward for compliance with an intricate and detailed code. The code said, Fast! and the Pharisees fasted twice a week with ostentation. The code said, Pay tithes, and the Pharisee paid tithes even of garden weeds. Give alms, said the code, and the Pharisee sought to earn heaven by charitable deeds. Jesus, too, preaches righteousness, but he means the perfect heart of the perfect world; not a code of precepts, but the disposition and character of the soul. He gives no detailed rules and prescriptions. He seems to leave men free to freely shape life from within, in accordance with the insight that God's demand is for pure sincerity and love. If a rabbi vetoes every exertion on the Sabbath day, Jesus preaches that mercy and love are the whole demands of divine law, and spends effort on the Sabbath to do work of love and mercy. Therefore we are rid of the view, often expressed, that the precepts of Jesus are inconsistent with our wholly different civilization. Jesus was not speaking as a rabbi, with a set of decisions about conduct, of permanent binding force, decisions strict like those of Schammai, lenient like those of Hillel. He is telling men to live now with the heart that

has its citizenship in the kingdom of God, the heart that comprehends all duties by its own loving-kindness. It is true that Matthew's Gospel, compiled for a day when religious societies were being organized outside of Israel's tradition, seems to view Jesus as a second Moses, the giver of a new law. But the utterances so compiled and given the appearance of law, are easily seen to be counsels of moral hygiene, and are illustrations rather than rules. Jesus did not fast—he explains that he and his rejoicing company felt no need. But neither did he forbid fasting. He only says: *When* you fast, do not let publicity poison your interior attitude. Pray in secret, lest publicity corrupt the heart's simplicity; but he taught a form of public prayer and took part in the worship of the synagogue. Clearly these are not parts of a code of fixed precepts, but counsels about guarding the purity of our intentions. The real subject is not the duty of fasting, but purity of disposition; not the laws of prayer, but the principle of guarding the springs of action. As for alms, he says, let secrecy preserve the singleness of motive. Do not be tempted to seek the praise of men. Let not the left hand know what the charitable right hand is doing. Do not be like men who trumpet their good deeds, publish them for the world to applaud. But the same Jesus also reminds us that good deeds are a powerful motive force for those who see them, that we should make an atmosphere of good deeds, just as the lamp is lit to make the house bright. Only, *so* let your light shine, that the men who see your good deeds will praise *God*. These are instances enough to show us what Jesus preached: not a code of laws, but a spirit and character, and so far is he from being an innovator of a new set of ideas, that he enforces his preaching by appeals to the prophets. He is restoring the natural and simple and sane view of Israel's righteousness, though with unexampled keenness and persuasiveness.

So it is with regard to other ideas. He is not revealing and communicating the truth that God is Father, save as he makes the truth already spoken in Israel glow and burn with reality; save as he unfolds its thrilling assurance of forgiveness to every repentant sinner, and its rich hope of perfect good for all the poor and unlearned who respond to its constraint; save as he made it a truth irresistible by his illustrations; save as he himself embodied the divine illimit-

ableness of friendship, so that through the sovereign compelling goodness of his own being, the hearts of men blossomed up to God in glad recognition of infinite love as the nature of Israel's God. Jesus was not a teacher of cosmologies. He was not giving a science about the world to the inquisitive mind. With his supreme consciousness of God as author of all the goodness displayed in nature's bounty and ministered to man's spirit, he is securing the response of *hearts*. He asks for faith—not in the sense of the mind's acceptance of an idea, not as the submission of thought to authority, but as confidence, daring, heroism, making earnest with the fact of God's goodness, dismissing fears and anxieties, accepting all the glad expectancies that await children of boundless love, and so winning the power of soul which can triumph over bodily ill and be the spring of all healing and restoration. He is begetting life, and the life of faith in the supreme goodness is the discipleship which alone he asked. Be thou bold with faith, and endlessly expectant with faith, and be thou like God in unrestricted and illimitable goodness. That is the public preaching of Jesus, and I know not how it can ever be transcended, till man can see in God a character more ideal and more sovereign than love, or an attainment for man which can outrun the perfection of the highest ideal. And with this insight the disciple of Jesus is forever emancipated from any concern with the fact that in the sphere of science about things other than this life of imitating God, Jesus uses the ideas of his people and his time. The gospels make very distinct the announcement by Jesus that the great perfection would be within the lifetime of those who heard him, and the descriptions of its advent ascribed to Jesus are in harmony with the apocalyptic ideas of the time. Nevertheless, we observe that the emphasis with him is not upon the mode and fashion of the great revealing, but upon the human duty. Watch! be ready! Begin now that life of pure loving-kindness which alone has entrance there. He discourages the mere curiosity that reckons up the place and the date. The precise day and hour, he declares, are known to God alone. The angels know it not, nor the Son, but only God. This disclaimer of knowledge did not disturb the earliest Christians, and it should disturb no Christian of today. Not a science of God's providence, but spiritual response to it is the burden of the preaching.

Revise if we must the form of our expectations of higher destinies, the expectations persist undefeated, being kindled by the divine life pressing upon us, and the all-engrossing, all-important insistence of Jesus remains: It is the insistence that life today must be a preparation for the perfect order. Today we must begin—though it should cost homelessness and odium and sorrow and sacrifice—the life which finds its principle and its law in the spirit of the realm where all the strife and rancor of men and all the sufferings and tears have vanished in the peace and joy of God's family of embrothered children.

Having endeavored briefly to illustrate the fact that Jesus was not addressing men as a theological teacher, or as a lawgiver, but as one who, knowing the absoluteness of God in the love that flamed in his own pure heart, would inspire men to live by the simple essence of all righteousness; having wished to show that, according to the earliest record, he asked of the multitude no homage to himself, but only homage to the law of love, I pass to the most intimately personal aspect of his religion; that which concerned himself and his personal destiny, that which he shared as a secret with a few, at the end of his preaching, and which they were to tell no man. The instructive thing is to see that Jesus expressed no other spirit here than is manifested in his public teaching. When he discussed with chosen disciples his consciousness of a supreme personal commission, it was not for the communication of a dogma, but in order to incite and to express the same faith in a providence of divine goodness which is preached to all. He told them the story of his baptismal experience, the hour when the thrilling impulsion came to him to trust his burning enthusiasm for the gospel of love as the gift of the spirit of God, the gift of a sonship of responsibility. He told them the story of his temptation, showing how his faith in such a Messiah's commission had triumphed over all the interpretations of it, which a heart not single in love and trust might select; how he had set aside all alluring expectations and accepted a messiahship without the conditions which would accredit it to a curious world, without present power and rule over men, without special supernatural protection from danger, without even the guarantee of bread to still his hunger. The other utterances deal with the problem of the disaster and rejection and death that confront him in spite of his heaven-given

certainly of supreme commission. He is saying in many ways that even the highest commission from God must find its present use and duty in the experience of the world's disfavor and the world's infliction of death, and he is affirming, as in the great symbolic act of his last supper, that even the breaking of his body and the shedding of his blood must lie within the divine purpose of good to men. Just as in divining the future work of Messiah, when the great day should dawn, he seems to limit himself to the work of identifying those who have really had the heart of love, and of presenting them to the Father's favor; just as these traits of his prediction spring from the illimitable love of Jesus for men, so all the conversations about death are supreme manifestations of his certitude of the Father's providence of good, the heroic and triumphant communications to his followers of the absoluteness of faith in the fatherhood of God. It is thus that he makes himself the Son of Man, the man for all mankind, the supreme instance of the spiritual nature triumphant through love and faith. And, as we know, new faith burned in the disciples' hearts as they heard him. The new confidence in God was born—that marvelous confidence which sustains the Christian soul through all tragedies of affliction, that wondrous confidence with which the Christian Paul could glory in tribulation and count all suffering joy—because the love of God gave all such suffering as the sphere of deeper faith, and all weakness as the sphere of a supernal spiritual strength. And the culminating word of all these private communications was the assurance of triumph over death, of his resurrection to enter on the fuller work which belonged to his high commission. This sublime faith completes his significance for us. It makes him forever the great symbol and expression of the spiritual nature triumphant over the world and death. It makes him the ever-enduring challenge to man to live the life of the sons of God. The illimitableness and the compelling authority of the spiritual ideal are thus given us in the Jesus who so lived and spoke. When we think of what he taught, we find ourselves thinking of him who taught. His message is blended with his own life and person, and thus with all the magical power of person speaking to person, he becomes the friend of the soul, and by that friendship the very power of God to those who pray to be perfect as the Father is perfect.

THE GREEK PAPYRI AND THE NEW TESTAMENT

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II

From the general considerations of the preceding paper it is necessary now to pass to examine somewhat more in detail the significance of the Greek papyri for the New Testament student. And we may begin at once by noticing that they have added to his materials a number of new texts, many of them of great importance. Among these we have to reckon certain fragmentary texts of the New Testament books themselves, including a third-century manuscript of the genealogical section of Matt., chap. 1, parts of John, chaps. 1 and 20, of the same date, and about one-third of the Epistle to the Hebrews, going back to the first half, perhaps even to the first quarter, of the fourth century. Any examination of these texts lies, of course, wholly outside our present purpose, but in the main they are found to agree with the two great codices, \aleph , B, and may be taken therefore as comprising what we are accustomed to regard as the Westcott-Hort type of text.

More novel is the recovery of certain so-called *Logia* or Sayings of Jesus. The first collection of these goes back as far as 1897, when, in excavating at Oxyrhynchus, Drs. Grenfell and Hunt found among a number of other Greek papyri a single leaf of a papyrus book containing eight Sayings ascribed to Jesus. Several of these bear a close resemblance to passages in the canonical gospels, but others were previously unknown, such as the second, "Jesus saith, Except ye fast to the world, ye shall in no wise find the kingdom of God; and except ye make the sabbath a real sabbath, ye shall not see the Father;" or the variously interpreted fifth, "Jesus saith, Wherever there are (two), they are not without God, and wherever there is one alone, I say, I am with him. Raise the stone, and there thou shalt find me; cleave the wood, and there am I."

Five years later, the same explorers, to whose labors in the field

of papyrology it is impossible to pay too high a tribute, recovered, again at Oxyrhynchus, five new Sayings, written on the back of a survey-list of various pieces of land. As in the case of the earlier find, Drs. Grenfell and Hunt considered that the actual writing of these could not be dated later than the third century, while the Sayings themselves clearly went back to a much earlier origin. The third and the fifth must suffice to give an idea of their general character:

Jesus saith, A man shall not hesitate to inquire boldly about the seasons, prating of the place of glory. But ye shall hold your peace; for many that are first shall be last, and the last first, and few shall find it.

His disciples inquire of him and say, How are we to fast? and how are we to pray? and how are we to give alms? and of such duties what are we to observe? Jesus saith, See that ye lose not your reward. Do nothing save the things that belong to the truth, for if ye do these, ye shall know a hidden mystery. I say unto you, Blessed is the man who¹

It is again impossible to attempt here any discussion of the many and interesting questions that the discovery of these remarkable Sayings has raised. It is enough to say that while certain of them undoubtedly betray traces of the sub-apostolic environment out of which they immediately sprang, there is still good reason for believing that they contain a distinct residuum of our Lord's teaching, and from this point of view may be taken as preserving for us some of the "many other things" not recorded in the gospels which, as St. John reminds us, Jesus said and did (John 21:25).

Along with the *Logia* there may also be mentioned the apocryphal writings and fragments of uncanonical gospels, which we owe to the new finds; but as the most important of these are written not on papyrus, but on vellum, they hardly come under our immediate subject, and we may pass rather to the *indirect* aid afforded by the papyri in the interpretation of the New Testament.

Three points here demand attention:

1. In the matter of *language*, the papyri afford abundant proof that the so-called "peculiarities" of the Greek of the New Testament are due not to "Biblical Greek" or "language of the Holy

¹ These two collections of Sayings will be found in the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* I, 1 ff. and IV, 1 ff. They have also been issued as separate publications by the Graeco-Roman branch of the Egypt Exploration Fund.

Ghost," but rather to the fact that their writers largely availed themselves of the ordinary, colloquial tongue, the *Κοινή*, of their day.

This is not to say, of course, that in their case we are wholly to disregard the influence of translation-Greek with the consequent occurrence of undoubted Hebraisms both in language and in grammar.² Nor again must we lose sight of the fact that the sacred writers deepened and enriched the significance of many everyday words and employed them in altogether new connotations. At the same time it will not be denied that the best way to get these new connotations is to start from the old, and to trace, as we are now enabled to do, the steps by which words were raised from their original popular and secular meanings to the more metaphorical and spiritual usage with which the sacred writers have made us familiar. One or two examples will make this clear.

In a very illiterate letter of the second century before Christ the writer speaks of himself as *βαπτίζόμεθα* in a context which seems clearly to imply that he can only mean "flooded," "overwhelmed," with calamities.³ But if so, how strikingly this vernacular usage illustrates the solemn use which our Lord makes of the same figure when he describes his Passion as a "baptism." Or, to take a somewhat kindred example suggested by the other great sacrament, more than one letter that has come down to us contains an invitation to be present "at the table of the lord Sarapis" (*εἰς κλείνην τοῦ κυρίου Σαράπιδος*).⁴ Without seeking to press the analogy too far, we can at least understand how the common phrase would prepare St. Paul's readers for the new truths associated with his call to be partakers "of the table of the Lord" (*τραπέζης κυρίου*). The very title "Lord," in which the apostle sums up his conception of the exalted and ever-present Lord, is in itself another case in point.

² A too great tendency to minimize these last is probably the most pertinent criticism that can be directed against Professor J. H. Moulton's *Prolegomena to A Grammar of New Testament Greek* (3d ed., 1908), a book that is as useful to the papyrologist as it is indispensable to the student of the Greek New Testament.

³ *Paris Papyri*, No. 47, l. 13 (=Witkowski, *Ep. Gr. Priv.*, p. 64).

⁴ E. g., *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, III, 260, No. 523: 'Ερωτᾷ σε Ἀντώνιος Πτολεμαίου δειπνῆσαι παρ' αὐτῷ εἰς κλείνην τοῦ κυρίου Σαράπιδος, ἐν τοῖς κλαυδίου Σαραπίωνος. "Antonius, son of Ptolemaeus, invites you to dine with him at the table of the lord Sarapis in the house of Claudius Sarapion." Notice the confirmation afforded by these last words of the R. V. rendering of Luke 2:49.

For if it gives us somewhat of a shock at first to find the same title freely bestowed in the papyri even to the most worthless of the Roman emperors, we may perhaps see in the peculiar emphasis which St. Paul lays upon it a "tacit protest," as Professor Deissmann puts it, against its application to other "lords," and the desire to recover it to its true use.⁵ In a less degree the same deepening of a familiar word appears in the New Testament description of the Lord's return as a *parousia*. Many examples can now be cited to show that the word had come to be used as a kind of *terminus technicus* to describe a *state* or *royal* visit, and as such it readily lent itself to denote what was both a *return* and a *presence* of the glorified Lord.⁶

It is tempting to go on in this line, but one other example must suffice, this time of a more general character. Among the papyri preserved at Florence there is an edict in which the parents of a youth who has been living riotously (*ἄσωτενόμενος*; cf. Luke 15:13) give notice that they will no longer be responsible for his debts, and request that this fact be "publicly proclaimed."⁷ The verb is *προγραφῆναι*, at once recalling the occurrence of the same word in Gal. 3:1, where Bishop Lightfoot renders, "before whose eyes Jesus Christ was placarded, publicly announced as a magisterial edict or proclamation (*προεγράφη*), crucified."

2. The *form*, again, which the New Testament writers so frequently adopted for the conveyance of religious truth is reflected in the clearest manner in the private letters that have been rescued from the sands of Egypt. It may seem strange at first sight to those who have had no previous acquaintance with the subject, that those simple and artless communications, the mere flotsam and jetsam of a long-past civilization, should for a moment be put in evidence alongside the epistles of St. Paul. But even if they do nothing else, they prove how "popular" rather than "literary" in origin, those epistles really are,⁸ and how constantly the apostle adapts the current epistolary phrases of his time to his special purposes.

⁵ *New Light on the New Testament*, p. 81.

⁶ See, e. g., *Tebtunis Papyri*, I, 155, No. 48 (ii: B. C.), an account of an extra levy of wheat incurred *πρὸς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως παρουσίαν*, and the other examples in my commentary on *Thessalonians*, pp. 145 f.

⁷ *Papyri Fiorentini*, I, 188 ff., No. 99.

⁸ The distinction holds good, even if we cannot go all the way with Deissmann (*Bible Studies*, pp. 3 ff.) in pronouncing all the Pauline writings "letters" rather

In proof of this it will be sufficient to quote without further comment three specimens of these letters.

The first is from Oxyrhynchus, of date 25 A. D., and has the additional advantage of recalling the "epistles of commendation" to which St. Paul refers in II Cor. 3:1.

Theon to his most esteemed Tyrannus heartiest greetings. Heraclides, the bearer of this letter to you, is my brother. Therefore I beg you with all my power to hold him as recommended to you. I have also asked Hermias your brother to communicate with you in writing regarding this. You will do me the greatest favor if Heraclides gains your notice. But above all I pray that you may be in unbroken health and prosperity. Good-bye.⁹

The second also belongs to the first century after Christ, and may therefore be regarded as practically contemporary with the New Testament writings. In it a certain Procleius writes asking that certain drugs should be sent to him at Alexandria, and warns his correspondent that they must be of good quality.

Procleius to his dearest Pecusis greeting. Be so good as to sell at your own risk good quality of those drugs of which my friend Sotas says that he has need, so that he may bring them down for me to Alexandria. For if you do otherwise, and give him rotten stuff, which will not pass muster in Alexandria, understand that you will have to settle with me with regard to the expenses. Greet all your household. Good-bye.¹⁰

The third strikes a deeper note. It is a letter from a mother to her children, and offers striking resemblances to a Pauline writing both in the prayer with which it opens, and its numerous closing greetings. It belongs to the end of the second, or the beginning of the third century of our era.

Sarapias to her children Ptolemaeus and Apolinaria and Ptolemaeus heartiest greetings.

Above all I pray that you may be in health which is more important to me than anything else. I make obeisance for you to the lord Sarapis, and pray to receive you in good health, (such as) I pray you have attained. I was glad on receiving the letters to learn that you had come safely through. Greet Ammonous with her children and husband, and all who love thee. Cyrilla greets you, and

than "epistles." This may be true of the short epistle to Philemon which is little more than a private note, but surely such an epistle as the Epistle to the Romans stands on a different footing, and if only by the character of its contents is to be widely differentiated from the unstudied expression of personal feeling that we associate with the idea of a true "letter."

⁹ *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, II, 292, No. 292.

¹⁰ *British Museum Papyri*, II, 252.

her daughter Hermias, Hermanubis the nurse, Athenais the governess, Cyrilla, Casia, . . . all who are here. In answer to my inquiry as to what you are doing, write me, for you know that as often as I receive letters regarding you, I rejoice in your well-being. I pray that you may prosper.¹¹

3. These three letters will also serve to illustrate our last point, and that is the help which the papyri afford in enabling us to picture the *general environment*, social and religious, of the earliest followers of Christianity. These followers belonged for the most part, though by no means exclusively, to the poorer classes of the population, whom the ordinary historian of the period did not think it worth his while to notice.¹² But now, by means of their own letters and petitions, wills and contracts, we can see them in all the varied relationships of their everyday life and thought. The oppressed appeal to the judge for protection, creditors execute summary justice upon their debtors, the prodigal son stands before us in the flesh, while the mourners "sorrowing as those who have no hope," and the perplexed and diseased seeking help in dreams and enchantments, show how deep and real were the needs of those to whom the gospel was first preached.

There may be a danger at present, in view of the unusual and romantic character of their discoveries, to exaggerate the importance of the papyri in these and similar directions. But there can be no doubt as to the richness of the field which they present to the student alike of religion and of life. And one main object of these fragmentary papers will be accomplished if they succeed in any measure in directing attention to the work that has already been done in the papyri, and, even more perhaps, to the work that still remains to be done.

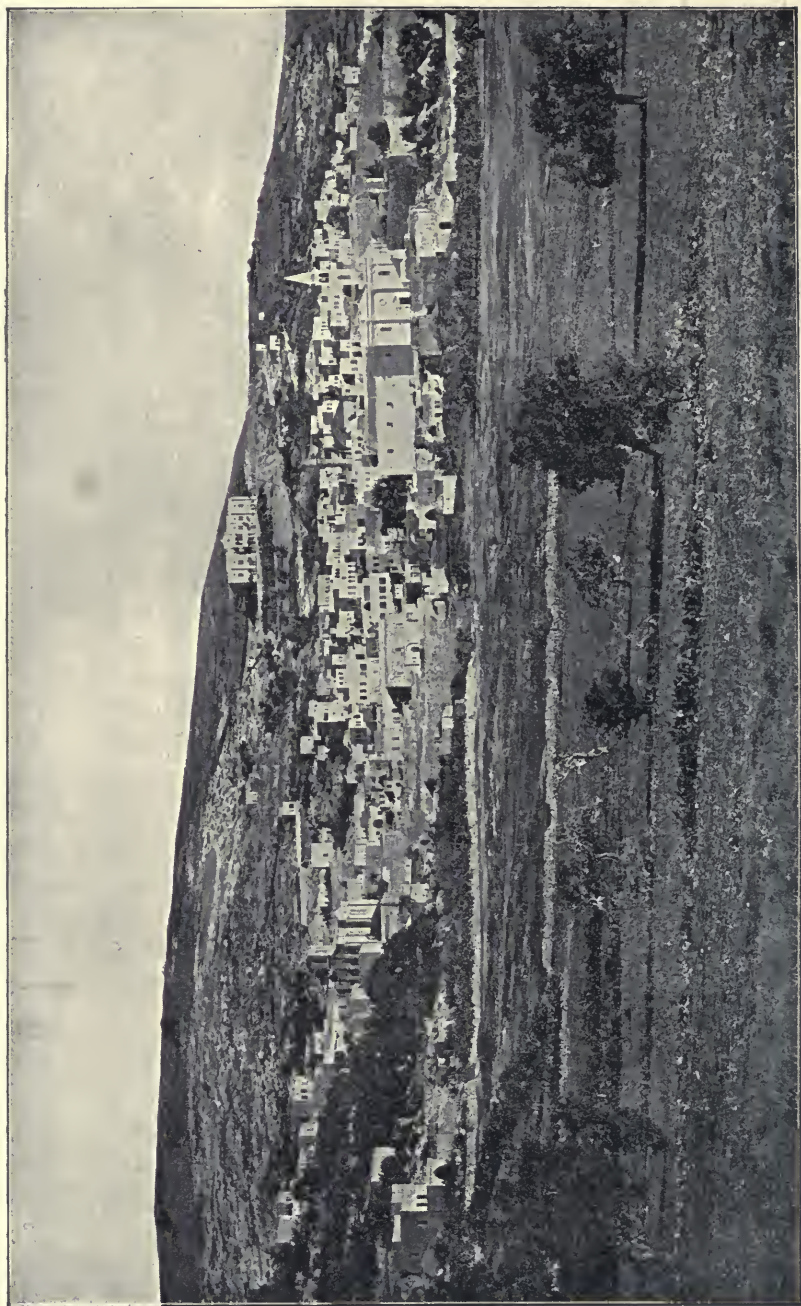
¹¹ *Berl. Gr. Urk.*, I, 326, No. 332.

¹² Professor Deissmann in his *Licht vom Osten* (p. 209) strikingly recalls the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, which catalogues 8,644 men and women of note during the first three centuries, but omits of set purpose "hominum plebeiorum infinitam illam turbam"—Jesus and Paul among them! The whole of Dr. Deissmann's book, of which an English translation is promised under the somewhat misleading title *Light from Anatolia*, is a perfect mine of information and illustration on the points raised by these papers.

THE FAREWELL BREAKFAST AT NAZARETH

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It was, let us say, January 10, A. D. 27, in the early morning. Nazareth nestled then, as now, at the foot of Lebanon, on the edge of a beautiful basin a mile long by three-quarters wide, surrounded on three sides by hills and the mountain on the fourth. The streets were dark except for the dim lights that shone through the cracks of the houses where they had burned all night, and everything was silent except for the footfalls of the watchman, who still kept his lonely vigils along the narrow streets. A little while and the door of Joseph's house opened and all were astir within. The street was so narrow that one could almost touch both sides at the same time by standing in the middle and reaching out both arms, and the house stood very near the street, in line with those on each side, separated from them by only a narrow strip of land and connected with them by a continuous roadway over the roofs, along which one might go through the town without setting foot on the ground. The house was almost a cube, about fifteen feet square at the base and twelve feet high. The structure was very simple; four posts were set in the ground, and the space between them wattled in with wooden strips, leaving an opening in front, three by six feet, for the door; this latticework was all daubed with clay, and the whole whitewashed. The roof, made in the same way, slanted slightly, so as to let the water run off behind. Here and there a sort of green moss had grown over the walls, and the rain had caused the clay to melt and run in spots, so as to stain the white and make the building present a rather dingy appearance. On the right side a stairway led to the roof, around the edge of which a balustrade three feet high prevented from falling those who went up there to meditate, pray, rest, and watch the crowd below. There were no windows, and the door was the only opening. The shutter was made of split wood, hung on wooden hinges, locked with a wooden bar on the inside; a wooden key, ten inches long, with



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some little pegs in the end made to fit corresponding holes in the bar when introduced through the keyhole in the right side, would displace like pegs, release the bar, and open the door. There was no front yard. Back of the house there was a small garden, in which herbs, onions, and lentils were grown; and in the corner a luxuriant fig tree afforded delightful shade. There was no well, for Mary brought the water from the spring northeast of the town, where a perennial stream still gurgles from the rock.

The family now began to prepare the morning meal. They had all slept together on pallets placed around the oven in the center of the room, so as to bring their feet to the warmth that lingered there from the evening fire. Their covering had been their outer garments. Mary rolled these mattresses together, put the bundle in the left back corner of the room, and covered it with a white towel. The oven, made of burnt clay, was three feet deep, two feet in diameter at the top, and three at the bottom, round, sunk into the ground till only a few inches remained in sight. There was a large opening at one side on the top, over which a stone had been placed the night before to keep the heat in.

In the right back corner a small closet held the few clothes of the family. On a shelf six feet high, to the right of the door on the inside, the cooking utensils were carefully arranged—a couple of saucepans, a kettle, two or three pots, a skillet—all made of whitened copper; several earthen bowls, two large wooden spoons, and three or four smaller ones; a large meat knife; two or three shallow drinking cups, six inches in diameter. Along the whole length of the left end of the house ran a raised platform on which Mary kept her jars of fruit, barley, wheat, flour, salt, olive oil, honey, cheese, raisins, and fresh meats when she had any. Lying up among these was an object that one might have taken for a tanned goat without the head and feet; it was the wineskin. Farther toward the front were the wash-tub, turned bottom up, the mortar and pestle for spices, two or three handle baskets, the oblong bread tray, a couple of rolling-pins (three feet long and three-quarters of an inch in diameter), a round board for rolling out cakes, a large whitened copper waiter, a candlestick (three feet high, made of clay), and in the corner the tool-chest. The mill, consisting of two round stones, two feet three inches in diameter

and not very thick, made to fit together, the bottom convex, the top concave on the under side, and an iron pin in the center holding them together, was stationary on the floor near the back left-hand corner. The upper stone was turned by a short iron pin fitted into a socket on top and held in the hand. The grain was poured into the hole in the center of the top stone, and there were at the side two small earthen jars to catch the meal. The broom, a simple bundle of grass, leaned up behind the door. On a tiny shelf on the front wall to the left was the mirror—a small piece of polished metal—a long comb thick in the middle, a few other toilet articles, needle cushions, etc., and a roll of dressed sheepskin nearly a foot long wound round a turned handle and badly worn—the family Bible. Near the door to the left were the water-jar, a ewer, a towel hanging on a peg. Some bunches of dried fruit were suspended from the ceiling, or rather the plaster overhead. At the right of the door the sandals of all the family and Mary's shoes (quite like our ladies' shoes worn in rough weather) were placed along the wall on the floor. A polished wooden-case, three-quarters of an inch square and six inches long, was attached to the doorpost. It contained slips of sheepskin, on which Deuteronomy 6:4-9; 11:13-21 were written in twenty-two lines. All this was visible in the faint light of the tiny little lamp still burning on the bushel turned bottom up near the center of the house, for it could in the dawn give light to all that were in the house. It was a tiny candlestick, so to speak, with the wick on one side, and the wee bit of a boat-shaped bowl large enough to hold a spoonful of olive oil mixed with water. Beside it was a small vessel—like the lamp, of clay—large enough to hold a supply of oil sufficient to replenish the light at intervals.

Some things were notably absent. There were no pictures on the walls, for art was tabooed in Israel; there were no chairs, none of the modern comforts and conveniences, none of those things that fill our homes with an atmosphere of brightness and good cheer. And yet that atmosphere was there, born not of outer furnishings but of inner faith and faithfulness. So was it in all the typical homes throughout Judaism.

On that January morning Mary took some grass that Simon had gathered among the wild flowers and other shrubbery the day before,

and, with some dried camel's dung picked up on the streets, kindled a fire in the oven, and let it heat while she mixed the barley loaves and put them in a shallow open pot. Meanwhile, as it was to be an extra breakfast, Jude had been sent out for a small piece of mutton which Mary cut up into pieces the size of a walnut, and put them on a skewer a foot long, and set it with the loaves in the large oven. She cooked some eggs and brought out some loaves of wheat bread that had been dried rather than cooked, ten inches by six, and an eighth of an inch thick. The barley loaves looked like the southern pones of cornbread, only smaller. Breakfast being ready, Mary took it up, put the stone over the mouth of the oven, got the small oval table, eighteen inches high and three feet long, set it over the oven, and spread a heavy tablecloth large enough to come to the floor all round, keeping the heat in and catching the scraps at the same time. On this she set the wooden bowl of bread, another of meat, and still another of eggs. There was but one drinking-cup which was used by all for the water, it being filled separately for each by Mary, who kept the waterpot near her place.

While all this was being done, Jesus was arranging the tools so that those not to be used immediately would not be ruined by the rust; for the moths among the clothes that were packed away, the thieves that could so easily break through the thin walls, and the rust on the tools kept in these close houses were the three relentless enemies of the Palestinian household. What must have been his thoughts when for the last time he put away instruments that had so long been his companions? Did he think of them as the engineer thinks of his engine? Did he in spirit bid them an affectionate farewell?

Everything was now ready. What a contrast with our table furniture. No knives and forks, no plates, no cups and saucers, no silver spoons (none of any kind), no dishes, covered or otherwise, no coffee-pot, no flowers on the table (for roses at least were scarce in that climate). There were no chairs; rugs around the table kept them off the bare floor made of clay and small pebbles pounded together and mixed with lime.

They sat down with their feet under them; they would have reclined at any other meal but breakfast. Each with bowed head said a short grace, and then Jesus pronounced the regular blessing, to

which all said, "Amen;" after which Jesus took the bread, broke it, and, placing a bit of meat on a piece, handed it to Mary, then one to James, who sat at his left, and to Jude, Simon, and Joses, and they began to eat with their fingers. The wide, flat cup was dipped into the wooden bowl of goat's buttermilk, and they drank of this one at a time.

This group of five brothers, with their mother, like the table around which they sat, contrasted sharply with a modern breakfast scene in the western world. The center of the group was easily distinguished from the rest. His hair was cropped and parted in the middle, his whiskers rather long; the only garments he then had on were the two gowns—the outer and the inner—and a girdle tied loosely about the waist. The outer garment of blue linen reached almost to his feet when standing, the sleeves coming to the wrists and flowing. It was really a bag, cut rather square, with one end open and a hole for the head in the other, with loose sleeves attached. At each of the four corners four or five threads hung down three fingers' lengths—really long tassels, white and blue alternately—forming the hem of his garment destined to figure in his after history. This fringe was to remind the Jews of the law, very much as we might tie a string around the finger to remind us of an article we are to purchase down the street. The inner garment seemed to be a light shade of red, as well as it could be seen when he moved. The girdle was a sash going round the waist several times. It was about three inches wide and of the same material and color as the outer garment. The brothers were dressed very much as he was except that their clothes were not so full and long—particularly the sleeves—and the undergarment was of white linen. Mary's dress was like these brothers' except that it was much looser and fuller. Her hair was long and it was done up in the back in a sort of ball. Something of a halo pervaded the whole circle. A deeply serious spirit rested upon all; Mary did not eat much; the very movements of her lips betrayed an inward conflict. She had since Joseph's death leaned on Him who was recognized far and wide as "the Carpenter"; and now He had told her that His Father's business called Him to a wider field of labor. What it all meant she did not know, but it took Him from her.

There was but little talking that morning; the Jews, though not the

least morose, were quiet at the table, where their whole normal life came out. The more formal of them would not talk at all. Their whole life and civilization were organized around religion; the moral value of details was one phase of their message to the world. With them nothing was ethically insignificant. The smallest item of etiquette violated was not as with us impolite; it was immoral. In Israel every home was to be a sanctuary and every table an altar. The only things, strangely enough, that were not religious were marriages and funerals. Jesus did not adhere to popular standards of manners any more than of morals, for some of his most valuable discourses were simple table talks. But the silence that prevailed for a while that morning was like that which comes to us all at the breaking of the home ties—a silence that reaches back for all the sacred places where our feet have wandered and all the hallowed shrines at which our hearts have worshiped; a silence that will in after years call us to rest amid the rush and roar, the clash and the clamor of contending world-forces; that will be as fresh as the morning dews and as sweet as a morning smile in the gloaming of many an evening of sorrow. Jesus broke the monotony by turning attention to some practical matters. The chest they were to deliver to the ruler of the synagogue the next week had not been finished; they must put on the trimmings and meet their contract promptly. He had agreed to make several articles of furniture for prominent people in the town and to build two new houses for men who were moving, the one from Rome, the other from Corinth, closing the contracts for them as he had always done. They must be careful and faithful, and there would be no lack of work and no want of means to provide the necessities of life. There was reassurance in his voice that gave great comfort to Mary. There was a compass in it that evinced largeness of soul life; there was a depth that told of his grasp of abysmal, eternal truths; a purity of tone that revealed transparency of spirit, and a melody that made his very heart-throbs musical; there was a strength in it that betrayed the touch at least of omnipotence and the decisiveness of destiny, and a quietness that attested infinite resources of reserved power; there was a richness in it that bore a message of sweetness and light to the dull ears of those who were about him. The conversation soon turned to lighter matters, and Jesus wondered

if the sisters were coming over to see him off. Scarcely had he asked the question when the prattle of children was heard on the street. There they were—the two married daughters and their little ones. “Peace be with you,” was the cordial greeting, and “With you be peace,” the fervent reply. Breakfast over, they were ready for the thanksgiving. Jesus threw the turban over his head; all rose and stood with bowed heads, while he led the prayer, after which they all said “Amen,” and turned to wash their hands, Mary pouring the water out of a pitcher on their hands over the basin.

The youngest daughter had brought back in her bosom a half-peck of meal she had borrowed, tucking up her skirts so as to make a pocket large enough to have carried much more. Their dress was quite like Mary’s; the color of the elder’s was a deeper blue, for death had stolen a loved one and she was in mourning. They both were veiled with short thin veils, around the edges of which a string of jewels or pieces of silver were carefully strung, the largest at the bottom and the sizes decreasing toward the top. There were probably ten or a dozen of these, and they constituted the special property of the wife which not even the husband could ever own or control—the heirloom prized above all other trinkets. Losing one of them was like losing a wedding-ring. Jesus gave himself up for a little while to the children, who gathered around him; and while he was talking to them the elder daughter complained to her mother that some people had stopped on the street to admire the baby, and had looked at it in such a way as to make her fear they had put a spell on it. And they had blue eyes, too! She had always feared the evil eye, and now it seemed that her little darling was to be a victim. The baby itself was a queer-looking object to us moderns. You could see only the head and feet, for the swaddling clothes (a long band three inches wide) were wrapped closely around it in surgeon’s fashion from shoulder to ankle, so as to allow not even room for the arms and legs to move. When it was born it had been salted down in these strips of cloth, and the time to take them off had not yet come. Mary rebuked the superstition of her credulous daughter tenderly but firmly, regretting to see her disturbed by such old-woman’s fables. While Jesus was getting ready for the journey, the brothers-in-law came in, and the family circle was complete. He tightened his girdle

(for it was worn loose in the house), tied on his sandals (which were nothing more than thick wooden soles, with strings to come over the instep), wound the white turban around his head three or four times, fastened it under the chin with a cord, and threw the ends over the shoulder, got his scrip (a sort of leather grip, containing some linen and other articles needed for a long journey) and his stick, and was ready to go. He bade each one, "Peace be with you," and kissed them on the cheek. That farewell, like all national adieus, summed up for the Jews the crystallized expression of that which they most felt the need of; for the Jew's ideal happiness was the man who could sit under his own vine and fig tree, at peace with all the world, with none to molest or make him afraid. This was due to the fact that they were only a few clans, always surrounded by enemies, and always in danger of losing life, liberty, or property. They therefore knew no deeper need than peace, and could ask for no greater blessing upon loved ones from whom they were to part.

The last to whom Jesus gave the parting kiss was Mary. She fell on his bosom, her head resting on his shoulder. A silence fell upon all except for the words he whispered to his mother, unheard by other ears. Then for a moment she put both hands on his shoulders and their eyes met in fond communion. It was only a moment; but in that look she gathered up all the sweet words that lay scattered over thirty years of love and care, all the sweet songs sung at eventide in the lullabies of long ago, all the earnest counsel and noble instruction that had filled so many otherwise vacant hours, all the poetry that had trembled on her lips or been smothered in her heart these decades, all the treasured wisdom of fifty years of lofty thinking and faithful living, all the pathos and power with which her soul in storm and calm alike had clung to its idol, all the confidence of a mother's trustfulness, and all the anxiety of a mother's tender love. Another minute and he was on the street, followed by "Peace be with you" from little lips just learning to lisp his name. They watched him from the door; he met a woman riding an ass, with a servant at her left side prodding the animal to make it go, but did not speak. She pulled her veil over her mouth as they met, so as to conceal all the face but the eyes. One or two others were passing to and fro on camels, and he had to step aside when they met; for there were

no roads like ours, and no wheeled vehicles in use but chariots, so that the best highways were only footpaths. It was a lovely day; the birds were beginning to sing in the mulberry and palm trees; a thrush on a limb, high up over the path, seemed to breathe its sweetest notes in the last farewell to a long-cherished friend; the tinkling of bells on the far-away hillsides announced that the shepherds had taken up their lonely vigils and the flocks and herds were seeking their daily bread. The group at Mary's door saw him turn the hilltop southeast of the town and start along the footpath for Bethabara, where John was baptizing, twenty-five miles away. Mary turned to put away the fragments from the breakfast, that nothing be lost; and then, leaving the rest to go about their various duties, she went to the housetop—her only quiet retreat—and talked it all over with God.



A STREET IN NAZARETH

THE ETHICS OF PAUL

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In a previous article¹ I maintained that, strictly speaking, there was no ethics of Jesus; that, while he uttered and exemplified ethical principles in abundance, Jesus did not set forth a system of ethics nor manifest a dominant ethical motive. Jesus was neither theologian, nor ethicist; he was, rather, pre-eminently religious. Were the word in good use, we should call him a religionist.

When Jesus and Paul are brought into comparison, strong contrasts appear. Paul is more ethical than Jesus but less religious (referring now to religion, apart from ethics, in its esoteric, mystic sense). It is strange that Paul should ever have been thought to be strikingly unlike James, as though there were violent antagonism between the "faith" of Paul and the "works" of James. In his insistence upon deeds and the ethical expression of life Paul far more closely resembles James than he does Jesus. In the spirit and almost in the language of James (James 1:19-25) Paul lays stress on conduct; "For not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified" (Rom. 2:13).

Paul writes no letter, now preserved to us, however personal or however theological it may be, without setting forth in the concluding portion some practical rules of conduct, a brief ethical homily. The issue of his advice and appeal seems always to be ethical. In his addresses and sermons, as reported in the Book of Acts, the ethical stress is less prominent than in the epistles which have come from Paul's own hand. These epistles show Paul as a theologian primarily, then an ethicist prominently, and a religionist in a smaller degree. The two epistles to the Corinthians, although shot through with the religious impulse, are nevertheless distinctively ethical. The Epistle to the Romans, the greatest theological essay extant from the apostle's pen, devotes nearly a quarter² of its contents to a practical, ethical

¹ "The Ethical Principles of Jesus," *Biblical World*, July, 1909, pp. 26-32.

² I am not now including the 16th chapter in the last quarter of the Epistle to the Romans.

application and appeal. And as Paul advances in age and experience he becomes even more ethical in matter, in form, and in atmosphere. The epistles of the imprisonment, while still chiefly theological in their lofty Christology, descend to the purely ethical level of detailing duties pertaining to husbands and wives, parents and children, and masters and slaves; and the pastoral group of epistles, if genuinely Pauline, evince an increase of ethical characteristics.

It is the religious content of the message of Jesus which grips men, stirs them, fires their enthusiasm, and calls forth their worship and devotion. One can scarcely become enthusiastic over Paul's theological disquisitions, however much one may admire the dialectic skill, the missionary zeal, and the personal self-sacrifice of the great apostle. A controversialist could take up cudgels against Paul; there is ground for argument on nearly all of his theological premises: but no one would think of arguing with Jesus; his utterances, out of the clear atmosphere of religious certitude, ring full and true in every religious soul. His irenic tones are the notes of the Prince of Peace. His words, almost axiomatic, push by the critical, judicial, disquisitional faculties and penetrate to the better, vital, living, loving self; they arouse, they inspire, they appear imitable; they *are* imitated, not because the same thing can be done now, but because a thing of the same kind is now required; and the religious genus is self-fertilizing and self-perpetuating. The ethics of Paul, like the theology of Paul, issues rather from the logical than from the religious nature. More formally expressed in phrase than is the ethics of Jesus, Paul's ethical appeals do not fire and inflame the reader to imitate and do. The requirements are sane and sound; judgment can weigh them calmly and judgment approves them; yet the reader can more readily turn away from Paul's ethical requirements and leave them unperformed than he can from the ethical principles of Jesus, though less formally expressed and less capable of imitation. The principles of Jesus are infectious; they carry the contagion of imitation and repetition, even in their impossibilities; while Paul's rules of conduct, unobjectionable from the judicial and logical point of view, do less in awakening desire to perform and less in overcoming volitional inertia.

We may sum up a comparison of Jesus and Paul by saying that,

in the order of emphasis, Jesus brought in the first place the message of religion, in the second place the message of ethics, and that he offered no theology to his followers, while Paul undertook pre-eminently to set forth a theology, in the second place to establish a system of ethics, and in the third place he himself felt, and imparted to others, the glow of religious feeling.

Paul does not derive his ethical code from the teaching of Jesus, by direct citation and reference, as much as one would naturally suppose. Once in the Book of Acts he is represented as justifying his own self-sacrificing conduct among the Ephesians, whose elders had come down to Miletus to bid him farewell, and his exhortation to them to minister unto others, by a direct reference to the words of Jesus, for Paul is reported as saying: "In all things I gave you an example, that so laboring ye ought to help the weak, and to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, that he himself said, It is more blessed to give than to receive" (Acts 21:35). Such a citation of the words of Jesus, however, is exceptional. "The mind of Christ" (Phil. 2:5) is set forth as an ideal; that Christ "lives in" one (Gal. 2:20) and that a life may be lived "in faith, the faith which is in the Son of God" (Gal. 2:20) are statements enforcing ethical considerations; likewise one may "put on" Christ (Rom. 13:14) and may "learn" Christ (Eph. 4:20), so as to exemplify ethical ideals, the opposite of which is described in the phrase to "walk as the Gentiles," "in the vanity of their mind, being darkened in their understanding, alienated from the life of God, because of the ignorance that is in them, because of the hardening of their heart, who being past feeling gave themselves up to lasciviousness, to work all uncleanness with greediness" (Eph. 4:17-19).

This backward reference to Jesus in the ethics of Paul is not due to the ethics of Jesus, nor even to the ethical principles of Jesus, but seemed necessary to Paul because of what Paul understood Jesus to be in a theological sense. As Paul does not imitate, or repeat, the ethics of Jesus, nor deduce his ethics from the teaching of Jesus, we must recognize the ethics of Paul, while Christian, yet distinctively Pauline. In his ethical rules Paul is bringing his interpretation of the life of Jesus into contact with the lives of the disciples; but it is the theological mode of procedure, the derivative deductions of an

independent ethicist. Paul does not say: "Do this, because Jesus did it"; nor, "Do this, because Jesus commanded it"; but, rather, if we may put words into his mouth, Paul taught men the rules of life with this injunction: "Do this, because it accords with the true significance of the life of Jesus," or, to employ a better theological phraseology, we may imagine Paul would say, "Do this, because it harmonizes with the soteriological intent of the mission of Jesus."

When Paul had himself accepted Jesus, out of his remarkable conversion from a persecutor to an ardent friend and supporter of the Christian church, Paul did the more remarkable thing of reconstructing, almost from the ground up, his whole ethical system. Previously a Jew of the strictest sort and priding himself on the punctilious observance of all Pharisaic requirements in the interpretation and fulfilment of the law (Gal. 1:13, 14; Phil. 3:3-6), yet he repudiated circumcision and all other works of the law as of no ethical value (Gal 5:2-6; 2:3) and thoroughly purged himself of the acrid hatred and contempt for those whom he previously had regarded as religiously unclean and ethically wrong, and boldly took Peter, the representative of the old mother church and of the apostolic group, to task for yielding to the former prejudices and withdrawing from those, who, once Gentiles and despised, at length had entered into the fellowship of Christians (Gal. 2:12). While thus abandoning the former ethical rules, and ridding himself of their restraints, Paul still held to the great moral law, spoken through Moses. He repeatedly re-enforced the Ten Commandments (Rom. 13:9).

An examination of the ethical teaching of Paul shows that his injunctions and appeals are largely of a social character. He is not a socialist, nor a sociologist, but he may be termed a social ethicist. According to his instruction, theology, when applied to life, becomes largely regulative of the interstices between individuals, that is, regulative of social relations. For example, "the fruits of the Spirit" are evinced chiefly in social virtues, and "the works of the flesh," performed by the sinner, require also in nearly every instance one with whom, or against whom, the sinner may sin. To the Corinthians, of whose correspondence with Paul, a portion of which is lost, we have nevertheless a larger amount preserved than of the correspondence with any other church, or person, Paul was almost wholly

didactically ethical; to them he wrote of personal ethics, family ethics, church ethics, and social ethics. The doctrine of the resurrection is the most prominent theological subject discussed, and even this subject is set forth more in its ethical and practical, than its theological, aspects.

In the casual correspondence, in which Paul's opinions and convictions are expressed, we have no formal system of ethics set forth. More nearly does the author of these letters formulate a system of theology, complete in logical expression, though not comprehensive and inclusive of all doctrinal themes. The ethics, however, though without reduction to a system, is stated topically, or in groups. After the doctrinal discussion, found in almost every epistle as the main burden of the epistle's message, Paul applies the lesson, or gives in many details new lessons, upon several subjects, which usually are grouped together, and are capable of distinct paragraphing under separate titles, or sub-heads.

The general content of Paul's ethics we may gather from his epistles³ and group under four heads: (1) the ethical ideal; (2) duties toward self; (3) social duties; and (4) duties toward God. These groups may be made the basis of further and fuller investigation of the ethical obligations which Paul inculcates.

THE ETHICAL IDEAL

Paul's ethical ideal is variously described, or alluded to.

1. Sometimes he holds up for imitation the example of others, who worthily exemplify the cardinal Christian virtues. In this manner he commends the Thessalonians, because they "became imitators in suffering of the churches of God which are in Judea in Christ Jesus: for ye also suffered the same things of your own countrymen, even as they did of the Jews" (I Thess. 2:14). Frequently he calls upon others to imitate himself, as he also imitates Christ (I Cor. 11:1; 4:16; Phil. 3:17; 4:9; I Thess. 1:6, etc.).

2. Sometimes social service appears as the end in view (Rom 14:19, 21; Phil. 2:14-16; Eph. 4:13).

3. "To please God" is frequently stated as both the motive and the goal of conduct (I Thess. 2:4; 4:1; Gal. 1:10; II Cor. 5:9; Rom. 12:1, 2; Col. 1:10; 3:20, 22; Eph. 6:1, 5).

³ I am making now but one reference to the Pastoral Epistles.

4. To have fellowship with Christ at other times appears as the ideal (I Cor. 1:11-16; Rom. 13:14; Col. 2:6; Phil. 2:1-11).

DUTIES TOWARD SELF

While largely inculcating social virtues, yet Paul does not fail to teach and exhort the individual to cultivate personal virtues for his own personal welfare.

1. Personal purity is insisted upon plainly and repeatedly (I Thess. 4:3-7; I Cor. 6:12-20; 10:8).

2. Sobriety and orderliness belong to the individual, as well as to society (Eph. 5:18; I Thess. 4:11).

3. Humility is extolled as often as any one single virtue, often by way of contrast with its opposite, "boasting" or being "puffed up" (I Thess. 2:6; Gal. 5:26; 6:14; I Cor. 1:27, 29; 3:21; 4:6, 18, 19; 5:2, 6).

4. Tenderness and gentleness, hardly expected from the brusque, logical writer who evinces at times a fiery impetuosity, are nevertheless praised and inculcated (Eph. 4:25-32; Col. 3:8-14; I Thess. 2:7).

5. The commonly required virtue of honest speech is not lightly esteemed by Paul (Eph. 4:15, 25 ff.; Col. 3:8 ff.).

6. Self-control Paul struggles for for himself (I Cor. 9:25-27).

7. Paul could almost pen the Latin motto, which many a school-boy has written on the flyleaf of his textbook, *Labor omnia vincit*. He requires activity; he holds that those who will not work should not eat, and he believes that an indomitable will, busy with useful enterprises, can overcome outward circumstances, however difficult (I Thess. 4:11; II Thess. 3:8, 10; II Cor. 4:7-12, 16-18; 6:4-10; 12:7-10).

8. Paul also held that one's own independent labor should preserve one's self-respect and defend one from mis-judgment (I Thess. 2:9; I Cor. 9:6-23), while at the same time one must feel the obligation of serving and helping others (I Cor. 8:13; 10:28-33; Rom. 14:1-23).

SOCIAL DUTIES

The conditions prevalent in the society with which Paul was acquainted and in daily contact determined the character of the

obligations which he laid upon the converts to Christianity, whom he warned and instructed. As all of his letters were written on special occasions, so all of his ethical appeals have reference to specific and not theoretical duties. Not a few of the subjects of which he treats were called forth by questions propounded by his readers, either through letters or by representatives and messengers.

1. The subject of marriage is discussed in answer to a question from the Corinthians (I Cor. 7:1). In the discussion some have supposed that they found evidence that the apostle himself was never married (I Cor. 7:7, 8); and yet the allusion to casting a vote (Acts 26:10) when Christians, who had been persecuted were put to death, implies that Paul had been a member of the Sanhedrin, the Jewish council, which alone could decree such a fate, and that therefore Paul at that time was a married man, as only married men, whose experience was deemed sufficient for the duties of the office, were eligible to membership. If this was the case and Paul had been married, then the language of I Cor. 7:8 would imply that Paul was at the time of writing a widower, "But I say to the unmarried and widows, It is good for them to remain even as I," and I Cor. 9:5 would be understood in the same manner, "Have we no right to lead about a wife that is a believer, even as the rest of the apostles, and the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas?"

But whatever his own domestic condition may have been, Paul seemed, for the sake of Christian service, to prefer celibacy; he appeared to choose between evils. "It is better," he says, "to marry than to burn"—a not very cordial indorsement of the married state (I Cor. 7:9); and he distinctly declares that it is better not to marry at all (I Cor. 7:1, 26, 29-40), his chief reasons being that the time is "short" and the unmarried can better give themselves, undiverted, to the affairs of the Lord. From such considerations it is obvious that at the time of writing Paul was under the domination of a belief in the speedy presence of the Lord, and, therefore, had less concern for relations and ties which would make this life of supreme importance.

If, however, marriage took place, then Paul's counsel is explicit and practical. Each belongs to the other in mutual relations and mutual bonds (I Cor. 7:3-5). He counsels against separation, even in the case which must have seemed to him the extreme of provoca-

tion, when one was an "unbeliever," provided that the husband and wife can live together in "peace" (I Cor. 7:10-16). Though Paul regards the woman as subordinate to the man, inasmuch as he is "the image and glory of God" while she is "the glory of the man" (I Cor. 11:7-10), yet both the man and the woman depend upon each other and need each the other (I Cor. 7:11, 12). When he exhorts wives to be subject to their husbands, as unto Christ (Eph. 5:22-24; Col. 3:18), straightway he bids husbands to love their wives, even as Christ loved the church, an obligation quite as ethically important as for the wife to obey (Eph. 5:25-33; Col. 3:19).

2. According to Paul parents and children have mutual obligations, children to obey and honor their parents, and parents not to provoke their children, but to nurture them and admonish them (Eph. 6:1, 2; Col. 3:20, 21).

3. Paul did not undertake to emancipate the slaves and abolish slavery. Paul even returned a runaway slave to his master. But he insisted that masters and slaves should treat each other fairly, with the recognition that God was over both and that each could serve God well by discharging well his obligations in this relationship of man to man; that was the spirit of Christian fellowship. Slaves should give obedience unto their masters as unto Christ, and masters, forbearing threatening and severity, must render unto their slaves that which is just and impartial (Eph. 6:5-9; Col. 3:22-25; 4:1).

As slavery was the form in which labor existed in Paul's day, doubtless in these injunctions we come as nearly as we can in Paul's epistles to explicit statements respecting the mutual obligations of employer and employee, and the great social duties which modern industrial conditions render so prominent. In refusing to liberate the runaway slave, determining rather to return him to his lawful owner, according to the laws of the times, Paul declined to sanction social reforms by the way of revolution, but when he bade Philemon to regard the returned Onesimus as "a brother beloved" and treat him accordingly, Paul is placing his reliance for reform upon the slower but surer method of evolution, attended by its natural processes of assimilation and development (Philemon 10-20).

4. Neighborliness is a frequent duty in the mind of Paul. It is surprising that in his reference to neighbors and his insistence that love to one's neighbors should prevail, Paul does not mention the

second great commandment which Jesus gave; but rather Paul bases his appeal for neighborly love upon the essentially social nature of the Ten Commandments the sum of which consists in loving one's neighbor (Rom. 13:8-10, particularly the tenth verse, "If there be any other commandment, it is summed up in this word, namely, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. Love worketh no ill to his neighbor: love therefore is the fulfilment of the law"; Gal. 5:14, "For the whole law is fulfilled in one word, even in this: Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself"). The parable of the Good Samaritan is not mentioned, and the citation of this commandment seems to hark back to the Levitical code (Lev. 19:18): "Thou shalt not take vengeance, nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people; but thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself: I am Jehovah."

Paul inculcates sound altruism, when he bids his readers to seek not their own, but their neighbors' good (I Cor. 10:24), and urges them to please their neighbors "for that which is good unto edifying" (Rom. 15:1, 2). A social solidarity with one's neighbor seems to be recognized, as the basis of appeal for speaking the truth to one's neighbor, "for ye are members one with another" (Eph. 4:25).

5. The church is a constant object of solicitude and attention with the apostle, and many duties toward the church and between church members are mentioned. Church members should live at peace with each other (I Thess. 5:13; II Cor. 13:11); they should edify each other (I Thess. 5:11; I Cor. 14:26), particularly assisting and bearing with the weak (I Thess. 5:14; II Thess. 2:15; Gal. 6:1, 2); they should settle differences between Christians within the precincts of the church itself (I Cor. 6:1 ff.); they should preserve decorum in the public assemblies (I Cor. 14:40); they should support those who teach (Gal. 6:6); they should be subject one to another (I Cor. 16:15, 16); and they are frequently exhorted to aid the poor by taking regularly an offering of money (I Cor. 16:1 ff.; II Cor. 8:1-15; 9:1 ff.; Rom. 15:26-28; cf. Phil. 4:18).

6. As for duties to the state, the obligations of citizenship and of patriotism are summed up in three comprehensive injunctions. Christians are under obligations to give respect to the civil government (Rom. 13:1-7), to pay taxes (Rom. 13:6, 7), and to pray "for kings and all that are in high places" (I Tim. 2:10 ff.).

7. In relation to mankind and the world at large, the great, com-

elling motive, and the supreme obligation, is love. Christians are to love their fellow-men and abound in love for them, rendering good for evil, and exercising generosity, charity, and patience toward all (Rom. 12:9-21; I Cor., chap. 13; I Cor. 4:6-10); and it is the duty of Christians to hold forth the word of life and preach the gospel in "parts beyond" (Phil. 2:15, 16; II Cor. 10:16; Rom. 15:18-20). This missionary obligation is reinforced by the example of the apostle.

DUTIES TOWARD GOD

Of duties toward God no formal acts are specified. Paul lays down no laws of sacrifice, ceremony, and ritual. From all of these he has reacted in the turn of his life from Judaism to Christianity. With him the godly life is its own vindication; that is the life given in service to one's fellows, and is justified in the discharge of duties to men as the fulfilment of obligations to God (Rom. 12:3-4). Often Paul speaks of "pleasing God" (I Thess. 2:4; 4:1; Gal. 1:10; II Cor. 5:9; Rom. 12:1, 2; Col. 1:10; 3:20, 22; Eph. 6:1, 5) and of becoming worthy of the kingdom of God, and of not murmuring against God (I Thess. 2:4; 4:1; II Thess. 1:5; I Cor. 10:10); but these are the obligations of motive and "spirit," rather than of action and conduct.

The great apostle did not repeat the deeds of Jesus, and scarcely revived the words and the example of Jesus; but he appears to have endeavored to gather the intent of Jesus and the interpretation of the life of Jesus in what may be called "the spirit" of Jesus and then to have undertaken the more difficult task of translating that spirit into the deeds and the duties of the day, fitted to time and place. The Pauline ethics is Christian ethics in so far as it has succeeded in incorporating in action the inner principles, rather than the external acts, of Jesus.

Out of the teaching of Paul it would appear that the ethics of the Christian needs to be in a constant process of reconstruction according to changing circumstances and environment; and that the modern Christian disciple need not attempt to walk precisely in the steps of Jesus nor do exactly as Jesus did, nor follow in all literalness apostolic precedent in order to be apostolic.

SAYINGS OF JESUS IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL WHICH
ARE REMINISCENT OF HIS SAYINGS RECORDED
IN THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

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Of late years we have had our attention called very frequently to the fact that the discourses put in the mouth of Jesus by the author of the Fourth Gospel differ widely in character from those recorded in the Synoptic Gospels. Jesus is no longer the untaught, nature-loving Nazarene whose thought finds expression, now in sententious sayings pregnant with wisdom and touched with compassion, anon in parables of rare beauty and rich in suggestion. He is a rabbi whose thought is profound and mystical, rather than clear and logically consecutive. It has been customary to account for this difference by remarking that the Gospel of John reveals adaptation on the part of Jesus to his more cultured hearers in Jerusalem where most of the words here recorded were supposed to have been spoken. This explanation does not satisfy many of our scholars as it once did, especially when it is noted that in the latter part of the third chapter (vss. 26-36) the rough, uncultured man of the desert, John the Baptist, is addressed by his disciples as a rabbi and that he is made to reply in the same profoundly mystical language in which Jesus speaks. Scholars who have come to look upon the Fourth Gospel as a second-century Alexandrian composition feel that it is not necessary to suppose that its discourses were ever delivered by Jesus as reported. Some have gone so far as to speak of them as purely imaginative.

It is not the purpose of the writer of this paper to dwell upon these wide differences in style and character. His intention rather is to dwell upon individual sayings of Jesus found in the Fourth Gospel which appear like reminiscences of sayings of his found in the Synoptic Gospels. It is a singular fact, as will be seen as we go on, that but very few of these sayings may be regarded as directly reminiscent, although the number more remotely reminiscent is considerable.

Our examination will have to do first with sayings of Jesus which appear to be taken directly from the Synoptic Gospels, or from the same sources from which they were drawn. The need of such a painstaking comparison is the more apparent when it is borne in mind that there seems to be a widespread impression that while in its general tone and character the teaching of Jesus as reported in the Gospel of John differs radically from that found in the first three gospels there are nevertheless very many instances in which the exact words are reproduced.

According to John 4:44 Jesus bore witness to the fact that a prophet hath no honor in his own country. Apparently there is no attempt to give the exact words Jesus is supposed to have uttered. Only the substance of what he said is given. On the other hand, the writer of Matt. 13:57 does purport to give the very words of Jesus: "A prophet is not without honor, save in his own country, and in his own house." Similarly in Mark 6:4, which inserts: "And among his own kindred." This saying is more briefly recorded in Luke 4:24. The context of the saying is the same in all the Synoptic Gospels. The words seem to have been spoken in the synagogue of Nazareth. This can hardly be said of the statement found in John 4:44. Jesus, it is true, is in Galilee, whither he has gone for the time from Jerusalem upon a short tour. Later on, Cana is mentioned; and we are left to infer that the above words were spoken after he passed into Galilee somewhere in the vicinity of Cana, though the writer, it must be confessed, seems to be possessed of little knowledge of the geography of central and northern Palestine. He certainly does not seem to know what Jesus' own country was, further than that it was Galilee. Moreover, the words are meaningless in the context in which they do appear in this gospel, for we are told that when Jesus was come into Galilee the Galileans received him, having seen all the things that he did in Jerusalem at the feast: for they also went unto the feast. Godet admits that this passage has from the beginning been a *crux interpretum*. His own attempts at reconciliation cannot, however, be regarded with any more favor than those of scholars whose interpretations he renounces. The difference in context we must recognize, whether we do or do not believe that it may be explained satisfactorily; but despite this difference and our

way of regarding it, we must admit that we have here in John a direct reminiscence of a saying recorded as an early utterance of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels.

In John 9:39 Jesus is represented as speaking of himself as coming into this world for judgment, that they which see not may see, and that they which see may become blind. This appears to be directly reminiscent of a saying found in the Synoptic Gospels. Luke 8:10 has, "that seeing they may not see, and hearing they may not understand." Mark 4:12*a* agrees substantially with this; but let us hope that Mark 4:12*b*, which is a revolting addition to an utterance or saying which is itself perplexing, was not a part of the original remark of the Master. Indeed, for that matter, it is presumable that Matt. 13:13, where the reason for Jesus' parabolic teaching rather than the purpose of it is given, correctly reports him upon the occasion. It must be admitted that the saying, even in its simplest form, was such as would naturally appeal to the writer of the Fourth Gospel. It certainly seems as though we must have here something in the nature of a quotation, or a reminiscence of a saying, found in the Synoptic Gospels; although it should be noticed that the context in John differs widely from that of the Synoptic Gospels. In the latter it follows the parable of the Sower; while in John it is a part of the remark put in the mouth of Jesus after he had come upon the man whom he had healed and whom the Jews had cast out of the Synagogue. If the one saying is reminiscent of the other and kindred saying, then it was adapted to an entirely different situation.

In John 12:8, in the story of the anointing of Jesus, we find the statement: "For the poor ye always have with you; but me ye have not always." Here we have the identical saying that appears in Matt. 26:11, save that in this latter text *πάντοτε* stands emphatically at the beginning. The same may be said of Mark 14:7, with this exception, it has the additional clause, "And whenever ye will ye can do them good," a remark that may be regarded as belonging presumably to the original, or an earlier form of the statement. The words of John 12:7*b*, "Suffer her to keep it against the day of my burying," seem to be reminiscent of Matt. 26:12*b*, "to prepare me for burial she did it." Nevertheless this thought finds ample expression in Mark 14:8*b*, "She hath anointed beforehand my body for the burial,"

which again may be even nearer the original saying. The prohibition, "Suffer her," or "Let her alone," reminds us of "Do you let her alone" of Mark 14:6a. The corresponding exclamation in Matt. 26:10, "Why trouble ye the woman?" is weaker and less likely to have been the original. The entire story as recorded in John appears to have been taken with characteristic changes to suit the purposes of the author, from an earlier narrative, if, indeed, it was not taken directly from the narrative as it is found in Mark. Surely the words which the Fourth Gospel puts in the mouth of Jesus in this narrative are more than reminiscent: they are in the nature of a verbally direct transcript.

John 13:20, "He that receiveth whomsoever I send receiveth me, and he that receiveth me receiveth him that sent me," agrees substantially with Matt. 10:40, "He that receiveth you receiveth me, and he that receiveth me receiveth him that sent me." The dependence of the author of John here, despite the difference in context, upon the passage as it appears in Matthew or of the author of both gospels upon some earlier common source is most manifest. There certainly can be no serious objection to considering the one a quotation from the other because of verbal differences; for we do not expect verbal exactitude in such a case. *ἂν τινα πέμψω* may stand without question for *ὑμᾶς*. With Meyer, then, we may speak of "the manifest identity," and may declare that "we are not to explain it in an essentially different sense."

John 17:2a, "Thou hast given him authority over all flesh," may be considered to be directly reminiscent of Matt. 28:18, "All authority is given unto me in heaven and upon earth;" cf. also Matt. 11:27 and Luke 10:22. As there is some doubt about the postscript of Matthew, many looking upon it as a late addition to the Greek text of the gospel, we may surmise that the authors drew from a common source for the statement. This, however, is very doubtful. Matt. 28:18 may be late enough to show the influence of John 17:2a. Surely the Trinitarian formula of the next verse in Matthew must be later than any part of the Fourth Gospel.

It will be seen from the above study that the number of supposed sayings of Jesus recorded by the author of the Fourth Gospel that appear to be in the nature of direct quotations or reminiscences of

his sayings recorded in the Synoptic Gospels are very few, and that these may have been drawn in some instances from some sources which were common to all. But the significant fact to be noted is that these utterances do not belong to the more formal discourses of Jesus as reported by the author of the Fourth Gospel. John 4:44 notes that Jesus in going into Galilee testified to a certain fact, using, in so doing, a familiar saying, a homely proverb. Even in the earlier sources the words, it would seem, were connected with the story of Jesus' visit to Nazareth and were not a part of any formal discourse of his. Only one of the Synoptic Gospels (Luke) makes them a part of a somewhat formal address. John 9:39, as it stands, is a saying that does not belong to one of the Johannean discourses. It is a part of the story of a miracle, thoroughly characteristic of the gospel which is the only one in which record of it is found. In Luke it is a part of Jesus' interpretation of the parable of the Sower, and so has a formal place in his teaching. John 12:8 belongs to the story of the anointing, rather than to any discourse of Jesus. The same may be said of John 12:7. John 13:20 seems to be a part of the teaching or explanation of Jesus which had to do with his washing his disciples' feet, the narrative of which is found only in the Fourth Gospel. In Matt. 10:40 it appears as a part of a discourse by the Master, but of a discourse of an entirely different character than any which can have grown out of his humble service. John 17:2 is not a part of Jesus' teaching but is rather a saying found in the prayer which the author of this gospel ascribes to Jesus on the night of his betrayal. The utterance in Matt. 28:18 is a part of the last words of Jesus, spoken after his resurrection. Not only, then, is it true that the formal teaching of Jesus as reported in the Fourth Gospel differs radically from his teaching as reported by the Synoptic Gospels, but in its separate sayings also there is a want of agreement, save in fragmentary words of his spoken on special occasions.

It remains, however, to pass on to the examination of a considerable number of passages which are more remotely reminiscent of sayings of Jesus recorded in the Synoptic Gospels. Such sayings are not to be overlooked in any study in which an attempt is made to compare the thought of the Fourth Gospel with that of the first three.

John 1:42, "Thou art Simon the Son of John: thou shalt be

called Cephas." This calls to mind parts of Matt. 16:17-19, "Simon Bar-Jonah," and "thou art Peter." Here in the Fourth Gospel it is only the change of name that is dwelt upon; while in Matthew it is the position of Simon among the apostles and the relation of the new body, the church, to him as its main support. The entire context is different. Here the word is spoken on the occasion of Simon's introduction to Jesus. There it is uttered midway in Jesus' ministry, when the Master and his disciples had retired to the borders of Caesarea Philippi. Whether both incidents are authentic, or only one is, the differences in the utterances and the contradictory nature of the contexts are such as to warrant the statement that the words of Jesus as recorded in the Fourth Gospel are but remotely reminiscent of those found in Matthew.

The words attributed to Jesus in John 2:19, "Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up," belong in a class by themselves, for no such utterance is found in any discourse of Jesus recorded in the Synoptic Gospels. Yet he is said to have been quoted by his enemies as having so spoken. In Matt. 26:61, he is declared by witnesses to have asserted: "I am able to destroy the temple of God and to build it in three days." Then, too, Matt 27:40 tells us that those who railed at Jesus when he was upon the cross intimated that he had made such an assertion. In Mark 14:58 the witnesses are quoted as charging him more explicitly; asserting that he said: "I will destroy this temple that is made with hands, and in three days I will build another made without hands." Less explicit are the words which those who mocked Jesus are said, according to this gospel, to have put in his mouth (15:29). In none of the synoptic passages is Jesus represented as speaking of a possible destruction of the temple by the Jews themselves. At the most, therefore, we can say that John 2:19 is remotely suggestive of something which the enemies of Jesus are quoted in the other gospels as putting into his mouth. More might be made of the fact that John 2:19 appears in the story of the driving of the traders and money-changers from the temple, were it not that the Fourth Gospel is utterly at variance with the others in putting the incident at the beginning of Jesus' ministry upon what seems to have been regarded as one of his earliest visits to the temple. If Jesus ever said anything of the kind he is

here quoted as saying, he must have done so near the close of his ministry when he was engaged in some such act, let it be presumed, as the driving of unscrupulous and profane men from his Father's house. In that case his words, though distorted, might be brought against him at his trial. It is a singular fact that while the synoptists fail to connect the words with any incident, and one of them speaks of the witness as false (Mark 14:57), the author of the Fourth Gospel does connect the charge, or remark, with such an incident. Nevertheless John 2:19 may be regarded as in some way, though remotely, dependent upon Matt. 26:61 and its allied passages, or some kindred source.

So radically different is the context of John 4:26 as compared with the acknowledgment of his messiahship on the part of Jesus, as found in Mark 14:62, and much more as found in Matt. 26:64, that we are hardly warranted in referring to this passage. We can only say that the Fourth Gospel contains an acknowledgment of his messiahship, as the second and first do, and in words that somewhat resemble the words which the Synoptic Gospels put in the mouth of Jesus, strangely as the contexts differ.

John 5:8, "Rise, take up thy bed and walk," is found in the narrative of a supposed miracle which is not mentioned in the Synoptic Gospels. A somewhat similar miracle, it is true, is recorded; and in the story of it, curiously enough, we have a similar command put in Jesus' mouth (see Matt. 9:6; cf. Mark 2:11 and Luke 5:24). There can be little significance in the fact that John has *κράββατος*, as Mark has, while Luke has *κλινίδιον*, for while John has *καὶ περιπάτει* the synoptists have an expansion of the same, Matthew and Mark having "and withdraw to thy house," Luke having, "and depart to thy house." Manifestly we do not have a direct quotation, or reminiscence, from any one of the Synoptic Gospels. All that can be said is that as the miracle recorded in John, chap. 5, seems to be remotely reminiscent of that found in the earlier gospels, so also this command seems to be.

John 5:28, 29 contains the thought of a resurrection from the dead at the word of the Son of Man as judge. The context is altogether different, but the entire passage, taken as a whole, is somewhat suggestive of Matt. 25:31 ff. According to John 5:29, "they that have

done good" are to come forth "unto the resurrection of life," while "they that have done evil" are to come forth "unto the resurrection of judgment." According to Matthew those who have failed to provide for the homeless, to clothe the naked, to feed the hungry, to visit the sick and the imprisoned "are to go away into eternal punishment, while those who have ministered unto such, who in other words are righteous in practically beneficent ways, are to enter into eternal life.

John 10:14*b*, 15*a*, "I know my own, and my own know me, even as the Father knoweth me, and I know the Father" should be compared with Matt. 11:27 (see also Luke 10:22), "All things have been delivered unto me of my Father: and no one knoweth the Son, save the Father; neither doth any know the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal (him)." While the connection is altogether different the words of John appear like an unconscious reminiscence of those in the two Synoptic Gospels named above. There is perhaps no saying of Jesus in the other gospels that has more of the flavor of the Alexandrian thought which we come upon as we read the Fourth Gospel than this. It is specially worthy of note that the words as they appear in both Matthew and Luke are strangely mystical and hardly in keeping with the context.

John 12:25, "He that loveth his life loseth it; and he that hateth his life in this world shall keep it unto life eternal," appears like a reminiscence of several passages in the Synoptic Gospels (see Luke 9:24; 17:33; Mark 8:35; Matt. 10:39; 16:25). Though perchance the saying as recorded in John is but an echo, if indeed it be that, of any saying recorded in the other gospels, the context, it should be noted, has not been preserved. In John Jesus is speaking of himself; while in the Synoptic Gospels he has his followers or disciples in mind.

It seems hardly worth while to compare John 12:27*a*, "Now is my soul troubled" with Matt. 26:38*b*, "My soul is exceedingly sorrowful, even unto death." Not only is the context different but the utterance in the one case seems hardly such as to have suggested the utterance in the other. It is true that the mere difference in the emphatic word is not conclusive, one way or the other. The *περίλυπος* of the earlier narrative might have suggested the *παράσσω*, "I am in inward commotion," "I am agitated," of the later.

John 12:36 has a phrase, "sons of the light," which occurs in another connection in Luke 16:8. This phrase, however, is such as may have occurred to the writer, quite apart from its use in Luke, as a current one (see I Thess. 5:5 and Eph. 5:8).

John 12:44, "He that believeth on me, believeth not on me, but on him that sent me," may be remotely reminiscent of Mark 9:37, or of some kindred saying of the earlier gospel tradition, "Whosoever receiveth me receiveth not me but him that sent me." Yet this is very doubtful.

John 13:13, "Ye call me Master and Lord; and ye say well; for so I am," appears in a widely different context; but it may be regarded as distantly reminiscent of Matt. 23:8*b* and 10*b*, or some similar utterance attributed to Jesus in the original sources.

John 13:16*b*, "A servant is not greater than his lord" (cf. 15:20), reminds us of Matt. 10:24*b*, "Nor a servant above his lord," yet the assertion is of such a general character and appears in the Fourth Gospel in such a context that we are not warranted in saying that it is even remotely reminiscent of it.

The quotation put in the mouth of Jesus in John 13:18*b*, "He that eateth my bread lifted up his heel against me," reminds us of Matt. 26:23, which contains a remark of Jesus at his last supper with his disciples, "He that dipped his hand with me in the dish the same shall betray me." The wonder here is that the quotation appears in the later narrative; for we should naturally expect to find it in the earlier, if anywhere in the gospels.

John 14:26 and 15:26, which contain assurances on the part of Jesus that one whom he calls "the Comforter" will be sent unto them upon his departure, remotely reminds us of Luke 24:49, where allusion is made to "the promise of my Father" for which they are to tarry in Jerusalem.

John 15:14, "Ye are my friends if ye do whatsoever I command you," reminds us somewhat of Matt. 12:50, "For whosoever shall do the will of my Father who is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother."

John 16:1*b*, "That ye should not be made to stumble," calls to mind Matt. 11:6*b*, "Who shall find no occasion of stumbling in me," and even more of Matt. 26:31*a*, "All ye shall be made to stumble

because of me this night." Yet one can hardly be warranted in saying that we have anything more than a remote reminiscence in John 16:1*b* of either passage in Matthew. The verb "to cause to stumble" is a very common one in the New Testament.

John 16:32*b*, "Ye shall be scattered, every man to his own," does not correspond to any word of Jesus found in the Synoptic Gospels; but it does remind us of a quotation of his taken from Zechariah (see Matt. 26:31*b* and Mark 14:27*b*). It would seem that the author of the Fourth Gospel knew that Jesus was reputed to have used this scripture.

John 18:20*b*, "And in the temple, where all the Jews come together" seems to be remotely reminiscent of Matt 26:55*b*, "I sat daily in the temple teaching." So, too, does John 19:11*a*, "Thou couldst have no power against me, except it were given thee from above," of Luke 22:53*b*, "This is your hour, and the power of darkness."

There are only two sayings in the resurrection narratives of the Fourth Gospel which in any way remind us of sayings in the Synoptic Gospels. One is John 20:23, "Whosoever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them; whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained." This recalls Matt. 16:19*b*, "Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." *Ἀφίημι*, "to send from, to let go, to remit, as a debt or other obligation," is a common verb in the New Testament used to express the act of forgiving sin. It is not used in Matt. 16:19*b*, where we have *λύω*, "to loose, to release, to annul or deprive of authority." The connection is different; and in the one case all the disciples are addressed, while in the other only Peter is addressed. It is true, however, that the passage as given in Matthew has been recognized as committing into the hands of Peter not only power not imparted to the other apostles but also authority to absolve from sin. Still it must be admitted that late as is the Fourth Gospel, and above all, doubtful and late as may be the appendix, the passage in Matthew may, as a gloss, be even later. Scholars may be right in regarding it somewhat dubiously. On the whole, then, and especially when the character of the utterances be taken into consideration, it is safer to speak of Matt. 16:19*b* as in the nature of a reminiscence of John 20:23, rather than the contrary.

John 21:5*b* is the other saying above referred to, "Children, have ye any meat?" This corresponds to Luke 24:41*b*, "Have ye any food to eat?" Although the connection differs somewhat, the question as given in the Lukan narrative may have been in the mind of the author of the appendix of John.

Here again in this part of our study we must be impressed with the fact that the sayings cited do not as a rule belong to the more formal teaching of Jesus recorded in the Fourth Gospel. They have to do largely with supposed incidents of his life and stories of miracles which are somewhat aside from the main currents of the thought as that in full stream, so strangely diverse in character from the teaching recorded in the Synoptic Gospels, flows through this gospel. Several sayings, we have noted, are inconsequential. Such are 12:36, a phrase; 13:16*b*; 13:18*b*; 14:26 and 15:26, a term; 16:1*b*; and 18:20; while John 1:42; 2:19; 4:26; 5:8; 12:27*a*; 16:32*a* are considerably to one side of the main currents of Jesus' thought as it is set forth in this gospel. John 5:27, 29; 10:14*b* and 15*a*; 12:25; 12:44, on the other hand belong to the deeper teaching of Jesus; but there are reasons, as I have suggested, for regarding these passages as not other than remotely reminiscent of sayings of the Master which find a place in the Synoptic Gospels.

Our study can lead to but one conclusion, that the Fourth Gospel cannot be depended upon as an authority in its attempt to set forth the thought of Jesus as a teacher. Not only in the general tenor of of the author's thought, which, as recognized by scholars, is Alexandrian, but in his individual sayings, he is widely separated from the simple, straightforward teacher who stands forth in the pages of the Synoptic Gospels. We are far removed from the early traditions of Jesus' life and work as we tread the dark mazes of the mystical paths of the Fourth Gospel. It cannot be said that justice has yet been meted out to these discourses, many of whose sayings are inconsecutive, illogical, contradictory, and in not a few instances utterly meaningless. This, however, is not what this paper was designed to note. Its task has been far simpler. It has sought only fairly, frankly, and fearlessly to examine such individual sayings as seemed something like reminiscences of sayings found in the other gospels. It was to be expected, if these discourses really belonged to Jesus, if

he gave utterance to them, that they must, despite all differences of a general character, have many sayings reminiscent of sayings of his found elsewhere. A man cannot, however much his various addresses may differ in style and character, get away from his favorite expressions and stock phrases. But Jesus did so break away, as reported by this gospel. Hence we raise the question whether he is correctly reported? Whether we have not here a report of his words which is largely imaginative? The writer is forced to conclude that in the Fourth Gospel Jesus has been, consciously or unconsciously, misrepresented; and that the discourses attributed to him were largely imaginative. The results of this study are here presented for serious consideration.

THE CAESAREAN IMPRISONMENT OF PAUL¹

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The great Apostle to the Gentiles was at the close of his third missionary journey. On his first missionary journey he had taken the gospel to the island of Cyprus, the Roman province of Galatia (including Pisidia and Lycaonia), and to Pamphylia. On his second missionary journey he had evangelized Macedonia, Thessaly, and Achaia; preaching the gospel in the leading cities—Philippi, Thessalonica, Beroea, Athens, and Corinth. On his third missionary journey he had evangelized the Roman province of Asia, especially the capital city Ephesus (though, doubtless, his corps of workers had evangelized the whole province and planted churches in the leading cities—Colossae, Laodicea, etc.). He had also revisited his European churches at Philippi, Corinth, and possibly Thessalonica. He had planned another missionary tour to extend as far west as Spain.²

But now this hero of the gospel was approaching a crisis. While on his way to Jerusalem, to attend the Feast of Pentecost and to take the collection to his suffering Jewish brothers, the prophet Agabus met him at Caesarea and, by binding his own feet and hands with Paul's girdle, symbolically predicted that thus Paul should be bound at Jerusalem. But Paul was undaunted by this prediction of arrest and imprisonment. His heroic spirit replied, "I am ready not to be bound only, but also to die at Jerusalem, for the name of the Lord Jesus." The prediction of Agabus came true. Paul was arrested in Jerusalem and afterward taken by a Roman guard to Caesarea, the political capital where lived the procurator, for imprisonment.

THE SIGNIFICANCE ATTACHED TO PAUL'S IMPRISONMENT BY THE AUTHOR

It is remarkable that over one-fourth of the Book of Acts is devoted by the author to the telling of the story of Paul's imprisonment and

¹ This study covers the International Sunday School Lessons for October, 1909.

² Rom. 15:23.

the events connected with it. The Book of Acts may be divided into four almost equal parts: first, chaps. 1-7, the history of the early church of Jerusalem; the second, chaps. 8-14, the beginnings of the spread of the gospel (by Philip, Peter, Barnabas, and Paul) among the gentiles; the third, chap. 15-21:26, the settlement of the question as to the conditions on which the gentiles should receive the gospel and the account of the great missionary career of Paul; the fourth, 21:27—chap. 28, the arrest and imprisonment of Paul.

But why should the author give as much space to the story of Paul's arrest and imprisonment as he did to telling the beginnings of the gospel among the gentiles, or to the whole missionary career of Paul? Does not this minute description of the imprisonment make the Book of Acts top-heavy as a literary production? This fact (the apparently undue proportion of space given to the imprisonment period of Paul's life) helps us to determine the purpose of the author in writing the Book of Acts. By describing this imprisonment in detail it gave him an opportunity to show the friendliness of Roman officials to Paul and Christianity. It is scarcely to be denied that this is a primary element in the purpose of the author. He has made prominent the friendliness of Roman officials in many places in the book before reaching the period of the imprisonment. In Cyprus, Sergius Paulus the proconsul becomes a believer;³ in Philippi, although the Roman magistrates scourged Paul and Silas and imprisoned them, they afterward released them with an apology for thus treating Roman citizens;⁴ in Corinth the proconsul Gallio dismissed the case against Paul;⁵ in Ephesus the asiarchs are friends to Paul;⁶ in the same city when Demetrius, by raising a mob, sought to have Paul condemned, the town-clerk, a Roman official next to the governor, vindicated Paul and his helpers and pronounced the attack upon them unjustifiable and illegal.⁷ So, we see, even outside the imprisonment account, the author apparently narrates those events which show the Roman government, not only not apprehensive of the spread of Christianity and of the influence of its missionaries, but friendly to the new religion. In these last chapters, those concerning the imprisonment, Paul meets three Roman officials, Lysias the military

³ Acts 13:12.

⁵ 18:12 ff.

⁷ 19:35 ff.

⁴ Acts 16:35 ff.

⁶ 19:31.

tribune (chiliarch), Felix and Festus, procurators. The first and last positively pronounced Paul innocent,⁸ while Felix shows Paul great favors and seems willing to set him free, if it had not been for his fear of the Jews and his hope of a bribe.⁹ So Paul was never condemned by a single Roman judge, though he remained in prison in Caesarea two years. Was it not, then, a part of the author's purpose so to present the facts of early Christianity, especially in the career of the great apostle, as to make his book an apology to Roman thinkers (Theophilus was probably a scholar) and officials? McGiffert and Ramsay¹⁰ both hold this view as to the purpose (although with shades of difference), which seems confirmed by the fact that the author has given us such a minute description of the period of imprisonment. Ramsay goes so far as to conjecture that Luke (whom he regards as the author of the Book of Acts) had planned to write a third book in which he purposed to describe the acquittal, release, and subsequent labors of Paul.

Most New Testament scholars hesitate to go as far as this. Yet, it is striking that the author closes his book without telling of Paul's execution. It is most probable that the book was written some time after the apostle's execution in Rome. Why, then, should the author not tell us about it? His silence suggests his purpose in writing, namely, to record the spread of Christianity in the early years so as to show its universality and even the friendliness of the Roman authorities toward Christianity in its progress throughout the empire.

PAUL'S LAST VISIT TO JERUSALEM

Let us consider more minutely the account in the Book of Acts. In 21:1-16, we have the account of Paul's journey from Miletus (where he addressed the elders from Ephesus) to Jerusalem. Why did Paul make this visit to Jerusalem? He had been warned by a prophet and urged by Christian friends not to go. Yet, he went. Why? We might reply in brief, "Because he felt it to be God's will." This would not be a satisfactory answer. In what sense was it God's will? It is suggested in Acts 20:16 that he wished to attend the Feast of Pentecost. But why should Paul, who had so much to say

⁸ 23:29 ff.; 25:25; 26:31.

⁹ 24:22 ff.

¹⁰ *St. Paul the Traveler and Roman Citizen*, pp. 303 f.

against the formal institutions of Judaism, wish to attend Pentecost? We know that Pentecost was one of the great feasts of the Jews and was attended by thousands of Jews from foreign lands. It would thus give him an excellent opportunity to meet his Jewish brothers who had world-thoughts, that is, the Hellenistic Jews. Does this not suggest that the real purpose of Paul's visit to Jerusalem at this time was not simply to take the collection presented by the gentile Christians to their Jewish brothers in Judea, but to cement a closer union between the Palestinian Christians and those outside Palestine, whether Jews or gentiles? Why was Paul so diligent in procuring and presenting this offering made by the gentile Christians to their Jewish brothers in Christian faith? It seems unquestionable that he felt that this offering would be a bond to unite the disagreeing branches of Christianity. He knew that love was greater than faith or hope. He was of the opinion that this expression of love by the gentiles would win the hearts of the Jewish Christians.

But why should he go in person to take the offering? Perhaps he felt that his own personal influence might avail in averting the catastrophe predicted by Agabus. Again, he loved his own nation.¹¹ If this visit will win them to Christianity—especially the Pauline type of Christianity—he must make it at any cost, even if he must “die for the name of the Lord Jesus.”

We must pass over the section concerning the vow taken by Paul (21:17–26) inasmuch as it does not bear directly on the circumstances leading to Paul's arrest.

In Acts 21:27–22:29, we have the arrest of Paul recorded. At the end of the seven days of the Nazarite vow¹² the Jews from Asia (notice, it was not the Jews of Palestine) stirred up the multitude by shouting, “This is the man who teaches against the people, the law, and the temple, and even brought Greeks into the temple.” The people now became a mob and dragged Paul out of the temple. As soon as the chiliarch heard of the confusion he ran down upon them with the Roman soldiers, and when the Jews saw him coming they ceased beating Paul. The chiliarch asked what Paul had done.

¹¹ Rom. 9:3; 10:1.

¹² So Olshausen, Meyer, De Wette, Hackett, Wendt, etc., though Jäger, Baumgarten, Wieseler, Clemen, etc., think it means at the end of Pentecost.

Some shouted one thing, some another. But while the mob cried, "Away with him," the soldiers, to protect Paul from the violence of the mob, bore him on their shoulders on the stairway. Then Paul spoke to the chiliarch in Greek and the chiliarch asked, "Art thou not then the Egyptian, who before these days stirred up sedition and led out into the wilderness the four thousand men of the assassins?" Paul resented the insinuation by replying, "I am a Jew of Tarsus in Cilicia, a citizen (Roman) of no mean city."

Why did the Roman tribune arrest Paul? Apparently to protect him from the violence threatened by the Jewish mob. But this question of the chiliarch suggests a deeper reason. He suspected that Paul was "the Egyptian" who had formerly raised an insurrection. It was his duty to keep down insurrection, and so he arrested Paul. According to Schürer,¹³ "rebellion became permanent" in Palestine under Felix. This accounts largely for the incarceration of Paul. As seen above, Lysias the chiliarch felt that Paul was innocent of the charges preferred against him by the Jews. But he must be cautious, and so he felt that he must keep in custody this suspect of insurrection. "The Egyptian" is referred to by Josephus in his *War* ii. 13. 5 and his *Antiquities* xx. 7. 6. His numbers of soldiers involved in the insurrection do not harmonize in the two passages, nor do they agree with the "four thousand" cited by the author of the Book of Acts. But the general condition of insurrection in Palestine at this time is well established in Josephus and other authorities. So we may well accept the historicity of these events connected with the circumstances leading to Paul's arrest.

In Acts 22:4-16, Paul tells, in Aramaic instead of Greek, which he usually spoke, his experience of conversion to Christianity. As compared with the two other accounts in the Book of Acts, 9:1-19a and 26:9-18, there are some grave differences as to details in the narratives. But these merely show the human element in the composition of the book and the different points of view. Paul emphasized the Ananias episode, that is, the coming of a disciple named Ananias to give him further light on Christianity and to baptize him. The author of Acts also emphasizes the Ananias episode in 9:1-19a, but he omits it from the account in 26:9-18.

¹³ *Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, Div. I, Vol. II, p. 175.

At the close of the account of his conversion Paul is represented in Acts 22:17-21 as telling of a return to Jerusalem where he fell into a trance while praying in the temple, and heard the Lord Jesus commanding him to make haste and get out of Jerusalem, because the Jews would not receive his testimony concerning Jesus. (Wendt¹⁴ identifies this visit of Paul to Jerusalem with that in Gal. 1:18 f., but thinks the author of the Book of Acts supposed it to be that of Acts 9:26-30.) When the mob heard the recital of this vision they shouted, "Away with such a fellow from the earth, for it is not fit that he should live." But the chiliarch sought to find out Paul's crime by scourging him and compelling him to confess under torture. Paul waited quietly until the chiliarch had tied him with the thongs and then asked, "Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman and uncondemned?" It frightened the chiliarch when he learned that Paul was Roman born.

On the next day the chiliarch commanded (notice the authority with which he speaks to the Jewish religious council) the Sanhedrin to meet for the hearing of Paul's case. The author tells¹⁵ how Paul shrewdly divided the Sanhedrin by claiming to be a Pharisee and a believer in the resurrection. The Pharisees stood for Paul and the Sadducees opposed him, and when the confusion in the Sanhedrin seemed to threaten Paul with violence, the chiliarch had soldiers to take him out by force.

The author records¹⁶ how on the next night the Lord cheered Paul in a vision and promised to let him testify for him in Rome. He then tells¹⁷ of the conspiracy of forty Jews who swore that they would neither eat nor drink until they had killed Paul. To rescue Paul from the violence of this conspiracy (which was told to the chiliarch by Paul's nephew)¹⁸ the chiliarch had prepared two hundred soldiers, seventy horsemen, and two hundred spearmen (the manuscripts being a little doubtful as to these figures) for the safe conduct of the apostle to Felix the governor at Caesarea. Lysias the chiliarch also sent a letter¹⁹ expressing his belief in Paul's inno-

¹⁴ *Apostelgeschichte*, 8. Aufl., S. 356.

¹⁵ 23:6 ff.

¹⁶ 23:1.

¹⁷ 23:12 ff.

¹⁸ 23:16 f.

¹⁹ 23:26-30. This letter is composed in a better Greek than the early chapters of Acts, but is similar to that of late chapters.

cence and stating that he was sending Paul to the procurator to preserve him from the Jew's plot and for the procurator himself to hear the charges against him.

TRIAL BEFORE FELIX

In chap. 25 we have the account of the trial before Felix the procurator, which took place five days after Paul's arrival in Caesarea. Felix was a freedman of the imperial family,²⁰ but was made procurator in Palestine because of his influence at the court of Emperor Claudius. Tacitus²¹ says of his rule, "With all manner of cruelty and lust he exercised royal functions in the spirit of a slave." Before the bar of such a man the apostle was first tried in Caesarea. An orator named Tertullus, a Roman advocate, shrewdly flattered the procurator by referring to the prosperity of his rule and charged Paul with insurrection. The apostle made his defense in reply, denying the charge of insurrection and told the procurator that it was only because he believed in the resurrection of the dead that the Sadducees were clamoring for his death.

It is to be noted that in this section of the Book of Acts²² Christianity is twice denominated "the Way."

But Felix had heard too much about Christianity to condemn Paul on the charges preferred by the Jewish elders through Tertullus. The expression,²³ "having more exact knowledge concerning the Way, etc.," is thought by Meyer, Hackett, Wendt (according to the original source) to express Felix' previous knowledge of Christianity, and not what he learned about it from Paul's accusers. So Felix ordered the centurion to keep the prisoner in custody, but allowed him to associate with friends who came to minister to him. During this time Paul preached to Felix and his wife Drusilla (who was a Jewess). The theme of his sermon was "righteousness, self-control, and the judgment to come." But Felix, though terrified by the preacher's denunciations of his injustice,²⁴ dismissed the prisoner for subsequent interviews. He even hoped to receive a bribe from the apostle for his release. He held him in bonds for two years, and

²⁰ Schürer, *Jewish People*, loc. cit.

²¹ *History*, v. 9.

²³ 24:22.

²² 24:14, 22.

²⁴ See Tacitus, *Annals*, 12:54.

on his deposition from office he left Paul still in bonds because he courted the favor of the Jews.

THE TRIAL BEFORE FESTUS—APPEAL TO CAESAR

This is recorded in Acts 25:1-12. Festus, three days after his arrival at Caesarea, went up to Jerusalem and the Jews clamored that he bring Paul up to Jerusalem for trial. They were plotting to kill him on the way. Festus did not consent to this procedure. In eight or ten days the procurator returned to Caesarea and summoned Paul before his court. The Jerusalem Jews preferred many charges (probably insurrection and blasphemy against the temple were the chief) which the apostle denied.²⁵ But Festus was a politic man (though this quality is not mentioned in Josephus' *Antiq.* ii. 8 and in his *War*, ii. 14) and wishing to please the Jews asked Paul if he would go up to Jerusalem and be tried there. The apostle refused to do so and appealed to Caesar.

Why did Paul appeal to Caesar? Perhaps McGiffert²⁶ has put it too strongly when he assumes that Paul appealed to Caesar because he felt that his enemies had a strong case against him. They really seem not to have had a strong case against him. But Paul knew that he could not get justice in Jerusalem among his enemies and he began to feel also that the new procurator Festus would not give him justice. Hence his only recourse was to appeal to the imperial court at Rome. This he did.

But before Paul left Caesarea for Rome, Agrippa II²⁷ with his sister Bernice visited Caesarea to congratulate Festus on his introduction into the procuratorship. Festus seized this opportunity to obtain the opinion of the king concerning Paul the prisoner, and so had his case laid before Agrippa.²⁸ Thus the missionary hero appeared before the dignitaries of the Herodian kingdom. He impressed Agrippa that he was an innocent man, though Festus appears to have been impressed that Paul was a man of culture who had become fanatical on the subject of religion. But Festus, too, probably shared the king's impression that Paul was innocent,²⁹

²⁵ 25:8f.

²⁶ *Apostolic Age*, p. 354.

²⁷ Son of Herod Agrippa I, whose death is recorded in Acts 12:23, who became king in 50 A. D., and lived till ca. 100 A. D.

²⁸ 25:13—26:32.

²⁹ 25:25-27.

for he wanted the king to give his opinion of Paul, that he might have something definite to write the emperor as to the charges against the prisoner.

THE VOYAGE TO ROME AND THE SHIPWRECK

The account of this voyage comes exclusively from the "we" source and is regarded as possessing full credibility. Paul sailed in a ship of Adramyttium along the coast of Palestine as far as Sidon. The ship then put to sea and sailed west of Cyprus into Myra (a few miles southeast of Ephesus). Paul was under the charge of Julius, a Roman centurion who treated him kindly. At Myra Julius transferred the prisoner to a ship of Alexandria which was about to sail for Italy. They sailed nearly west for a few miles between some of the Aegean islands, then turned southwest, passing to the south of Crete. Paul advised that the ship winter in Fair Havens (a south port of Crete), but the captain, influenced by Julius, sailed northwest to Phenix (another port of Crete). The wind blew so softly that they thought there was no danger, and so put to sea westward. But a tremendous storm came down upon the ship before they had passed the island of Cauda. They cast the freight and equipment from the ship and let her drive before the wind in the sea of Adria for fourteen days. Paul was encouraged by the Lord to believe that no life aboard should be lost, and cheered the crew and passengers with his optimism. The two hundred and seventy-six souls escaped from the sinking ship to the island of Melita to the south of Sicily. Here Paul was kindly treated by the barbarians (natives) and healed the father of Publius the chief man on the island. After three months Julius and Paul sailed in another ship of Alexandria by Syracuse and Rhegium up to Puteoli on the coast a few miles southeast of Rome. Here Christian brothers entertained Paul and then he set out with Julius to Rome. He was met at Appii Forum by brothers from Rome who welcomed him to the capital city. So Paul reached Rome at last, but as a prisoner to be tried at the emperor's court.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF PAUL'S LATE CAREER

We cannot here discuss the difficult problem of the chronology of the Apostolic Age. We will give a mere résumé of the principal dates in the apostle's late career which is covered in this article. He

finished the third missionary journey and arrived in Jerusalem where he was arrested at Pentecost in 58 A. D. (possibly as early as 57) that is, about the last of May, 58. He remained prisoner in Caesarea two years.³⁰ About the close of these two years Felix was recalled and Festus became procurator. Kellner, Weber, McGiffert, etc., place the removal of Felix as early as 54 or 55 A. D. but most New Testament scholars still follow the old date, about 60 A. D., which rests on the fact that Josephus places almost all the events of Felix' procuratorship under the reign of Nero (that is, after 54) and the fact (as stated by Josephus) that he held the office several years under Nero.

Paul sailed from Caesarea in the summer of 60 A. D., reached Crete by October (Day of Atonement), and fourteen days later escaped to Melita where he spent the winter. In the spring of 61 he sailed for Rome, reaching there about April. Here he remained "two whole years"³¹ as a prisoner, but living in his own hired dwelling under guard of a Roman soldier. This would bring us to April, 63 A. D. Was he executed at this time? Probably not; it seems more likely that he was released and went on a fourth missionary journey, perhaps visiting as far west as Spain and revisiting Asia, Crete, and Greece. He was arrested again and taken to Rome for trial. This time he was condemned to be beheaded, about 64 or 65 A. D. (maybe later).³²

As to the imprisonment letters, Philippians, Philemon, Colossians, and Ephesians,³³ they were probably written during the imprisonment in Rome, as is held by most New Testament scholars, not in Caesarea, as is held by a few. If Paul wrote the Pastoral Epistles (as has been held almost universally) he wrote First Timothy and Titus during his last (fourth) missionary journey and in his subsequent imprisonment in Rome just before his martyrdom he wrote Second Timothy.³⁴

³⁰ Acts 24:27.

³¹ Acts 28:30.

³² See Schürer, *op. cit.*, Div. I, Vol. II, pp. 182-84 for the various views as to the date of Paul's execution.

³³ Many New Testament critics deny that Paul wrote Colossians and Ephesians.

³⁴ Many recent New Testament scholars deny that Paul wrote the Pastoral Epistles, as they now stand. Jülicher, Harnack, and McGiffert think they came from a later hand, but are founded on genuine Pauline letters.

Work and Workers

PROFESSOR WILLIAM SANDAY of the University of Oxford has been granted a year's leave of absence, and will devote the year to the continuation, and if possible the completion, of his *Life of Jesus*.

PROFESSOR GEORGE ADAM SMITH of Glasgow has been invited to deliver the Schweich lectures for the coming year under the auspices of the British Academy.

PROFESSOR ADOLF DEISSMANN of the University of Berlin is preparing a new edition of his book, *Licht vom Osten*. An English translation of this work is in preparation.

FUNDS have been subscribed in Philadelphia for the organization and dispatch of a new expedition to Babylonia for the purpose of excavation. Professor Albert T. Clay, of the University of Pennsylvania, is the director. Professor Clay is now in Constantinople endeavoring to secure a firman.

THE American lectures on "The History of Religions," which are given annually before the leading universities of this country and at certain other centers, will be delivered this coming year by Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., librarian of the University of Pennsylvania. Professor Jastrow will deal with some phases of the religion of Babylonia and Assyria, in which subject he is recognized as the leading authority.

THE *Lexicon of Patristic Greek*, projected by Professor Swete and being carried out by Rev. Henry Redpath of London, has been interrupted by the death of Mr. Redpath. It is announced that his important labors, so unfortunately interrupted, will be continued by Rev. Herbert Moore of Keble College, Oxford.

REV. GEORGE MILLIGAN, D.D., of Caputh, Scotland, spent the month of August in America, lecturing at summer assemblies at Grove City, Pa., Lakeside, O., and Winona Lake, Ind. Dr. Milligan also visited the University of Chicago, lecturing before the New Testament Club on August 17. Dr. Milligan has in preparation a volume of selections from the Greek papyri (Cambridge University Press) illustrative of the New Testament. He is engaged with Professor J. H. Moulton in the preparation of lexical articles for the *Expositor*, which are later to be collected as a book.

PROFESSOR ERNEST D. BURTON has returned from China, after an absence of thirteen months devoted to the University's inquiry into oriental

education. After extended travels in India and China, Professor Burton visited Korea and Japan, and, returning by way of Honolulu and San Francisco, reached Chicago August 24, 1909. He resumes his work of teaching in the University with the autumn quarter.

THE Divinity School of the University of Chicago has had a larger number of students upon its rolls this Summer Quarter than ever before, 267 students being in residence. A noticeable feature of the enrolment is the large number of instructors from other seminaries that have taken advantage of this opportunity to do advanced work.

PROFESSOR C. R. HENDERSON, of the University of Chicago, who has been spending the spring and summer in Europe investigating social and industrial conditions, has been appointed president of the International Prison Commission. At the meeting of the International Prison Congress, to be held in Washington in 1910, Dr. Henderson will represent the United States.

Book Reviews

Old Testament Problems: Critical Studies in the Psalms and Isaiah.
By JAMES WILLIAM THIRTLE, LL.D., D.D. London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, New York, and Toronto: Henry Frowde, 1907.
Pp. viii + 336.

The author has become known to the public through an earlier work, *The Titles of the Psalms*, in which he maintained the thesis that, of the two kinds of inscriptions now found in the Psalter, only the literary and historic notices were in the first instance superscriptions, the liturgical directions, such as "To the chief musician upon Gittith," being really subscript lines which belong in every case to the preceding Psalms, just as Hab. 3:19b is found at the close of the psalm to which it belongs, and Dr. Thirtle claims that the transfer of these subscript lines to the head of the following psalms is due to an error of editors or copyists.

The present work opens with a study of Pss. 120-134, the fifteen Songs of Degrees (or Ascents), passes on to the statement of the writer's positions respecting the Psalms as a whole, that they reflect the age of King Hezekiah, continues with a general exposition of Isaiah in which nearly all parts of our book are referred to Hezekiah's time, and an elaborate résumé of his conclusions and the bearing of these upon the "Canon of Scripture," and concludes with an appendix consisting of nineteen pages of "Brief Notes on the Psalms."

In the earlier chapters of the work our author quotes with favor "John Lightfoot," the seventeenth-century writer, as follows:

The degrees of the sun's reversing, and the fifteen years of Hezekiah's life-prolonging, may call to our minds the fifteen psalms of degrees, viz. from Ps. 120, and forward. These were Hezekiah's songs that were sung to the stringed instruments in the house of the Lord (Isa. 38:20): whether these were picked out by him for that purpose, be it left to censure. . . . Whoso, in reading those psalms, shall have his thoughts upon the danger of Jerusalem by Sennacherib, and her delivery—and the sickness of Hezekiah, and his recovery—shall find that they fit those occasions in many places very well. But I assert nothing, but leave it to examination.

He also refers with approval to the attempt of A. Wolfson in 1882 to connect these songs with Isa. 38:20 in a treatise called (in English) *The Shadow of the Degrees, or the Writing of Hezekiah*, but he claims that, through the application of his own remarkable discovery concerning the

inscriptions, the fifteen psalms may be faced in a more intelligent fashion than was possible to earlier authors, and that the weighty results of the present volume have come from careful and consistent attention to this discovery (see pp. iii, 14, 68, 282, 283, 297).

After the declaration that all previous explanations of the headline to Pss. 120-134 are unsatisfactory, it is stated that in order to advance a step a working assumption is needed. . . . That assumption is, that the title was intended to recall a reign or period, and to associate the songs therewith. In other words, the title "A Song of the Degrees" comes from a time when everyone knew King Hezekiah to have contributed to the Psalter; and it indicated every song over which it stood as "of the degrees," that is, associated with the "degrees" incident of the king's career (p. 18).

We are then told that the number of these songs, fifteen, commemorates "the fact that *fifteen* years was the period added to the king's life," and a strong hint is given that these are a part of the songs sung by the king which are referred to in Isa. 38:20. The life of Hezekiah is next considered, his prominence in affairs, political, social, religious, the officials that surrounded him, the literary men of his time, his fidelity to the temple services as suggested in II Chron. 29:30 and elsewhere being especially emphasized, and these considerations are regarded as sufficient to establish as a fact the theory "that the Songs of the Degrees were specifically compiled and in a definite manner associated with King Hezekiah and his experiences on the throne of Judah" (pp. 31, 32).

The author next proceeds to find in each of these psalms references, either to the great Assyrian invasion of 701 B. C., or to the sickness and recovery of Hezekiah, which are to be assigned to the same general period. He naïvely intimates that in poetry we must not expect to find very particular allusions and then proceeds to find general conditions that are sufficient to establish for him the date and occasions of these psalms. His treatment of Pss. 120 and 133 will serve as fair samples of the whole. In the former "they are for war" (vs. 7) corresponds to II Chron. 32:2, "his (Sennacherib's) face was to fight;" "In my distress, I cried" is compared with Isa. 37:3 where Hezekiah is reported as saying, "This day is a day of trouble" (or "distress"). The prayer of vs. 2, "Deliver my soul," finds its parallel in the words which Rabshakeh imagines in the mouth of Hezekiah, "The Lord will surely deliver us." It is stated that "the Assyrian leader was all that was implied in vss. 2 and 3, and in vs. 4 we have a singularly appropriate denunciation upon his impiety and deceit. In vs. 5 the king bemoans his situation as one surrounded by barbarians—men who know not the God of Israel and who hate peace. "From first to

last the song is true to the experiences of Hezekiah" (pp. 34, 35). In Ps. 133, the unity to which the Psalmist refers is regarded as paralleled in the specifications of II Chron. 30:10, 11, 18: "Once again there was a united Israel . . . united in the solemnities of the worship of Jehovah," and this is the occasion of the psalm. This part of the volume concludes with the intimation that Hezekiah and his men adopted four Davidic psalms and one by Solomon into the collection because they were easily adapted to the new situation; and while it is not actually said, it is almost unavoidably to be inferred that, in the author's opinion, they were chosen because David and Solomon possessed like Hezekiah typical features of the Messiah (pp. 67, 68).

The reader will perceive that the guess of Lightfoot is here supported on rather general considerations, which will be regarded as inadequate by many scholars; but our author has no doubt of their cogency and he proceeds by a similar method to draw some rather startling conclusions to the effect that Hezekiah's hand, or that of his men, is to be found throughout the Psalter; and on p. 88 he sums up such preceding statements as "Hezekiah was a greater man than we have been disposed to think and must be accorded a larger place in the Old Testament story;" "We hope in what follows to show that Hezekiah and his men had much to do with the formation of the Psalter" (p. 67); "We proceed to show that in some of its most distinctive portions, the Psalter is a reflection of the reign of Hezekiah" (p. 87) in the terms, "We found the life and work of Hezekiah reflected in a section of the Psalter, and reflected in a manner which suggested that he had a great part in the formation of the entire book." For further proof, the writer makes such statements as these:

If there were songs like those of the degrees, why not longer poems reflecting larger experiences. . . . To bring together such a collection of praise-writings as compose the Psalter, necessitated a force and influence such as Hezekiah was well able to exert and command. No other king after Solomon had the disposition and capacity to play such a part. . . . All at once, however, a change took place. The temple service was organized as had not been the case for centuries; the Psalms of David were collected and new ones were composed; and the Praises of Israel were consolidated in the volume which has, ever since that time, engaged the hearts and souls of those who seek after God (pp. 88, 89).

And so Dr. Thirtle goes on, reiterating his affirmations, first of one set of psalms, and then of another, until finally it is claimed that practically all the psalms reflect the age of Hezekiah, and were written, either by his men, or else were adapted by them from earlier psalms from the pen of David and others (chap. vii). These statements are accompanied by a very

ingenious exposition of the conditions of the Royal Library in Jerusalem, with the relation of the librarian to the precentor of the temple music and method of borrowing pieces for use in the temple. It is needless to say that all this is due to mere conjecture. The author claims to advance his main argument through some "Brief Notes" in an Appendix, but the coincidences of language herein noted are of the same general sort as those already mentioned in this review.

Nearly one-half of the book is given to a search for Hezekiah in the Book of Isaiah, and commentators of the book that have read our work must have found a surprise for themselves, for Hezekiah is found in nearly all parts of these prophecies. The social references, such as those found in 1:4; 57:3, refer to the Jerusalem of his day; Isa., chaps. 40-66, give comfort to the contemporaries of Hezekiah; chaps. 15-35 belong to the reign of Hezekiah and in order that we may know how to understand them, chaps. 36-39 are added (p. 156). The Servant of the Lord is generally Hezekiah—and therefore the name "Cyrus" must be read out of Isa., chaps. 44 and 45, and the whole applied to King Hezekiah, thereby correcting the erroneous theology of a later age (pp. 249-51). And in this way the author finds great help in his messianic typology. But into the details of this long section the present writer must not go.

The author cannot expect the scholarly world to fall in at once with a theory that he himself regards as revolutionary; and unless he can produce more positive evidence for it, he will be able to secure but a scanty following. The reviewer has attempted to do justice to the line of thought, and he has searched diligently for statements involving *probability*, as distinguished from *coincidence*, or *possibility*, but has to conclude that the first thing set forth to be proved is sustained by variety of assertion, rather than by positive evidence; that the author has passed on from that to graver conclusions without furnishing weightier considerations; and that, while such traditions of Hezekiah as we have would lead us to welcome any real evidence tending to establish the exact part of King Hezekiah in furnishing, or preserving, the literature of the Bible, the author's attempt to define it cannot be regarded as successful.

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New Literature

The most important books listed in these columns will receive notice in the book-review pages.

OLD TESTAMENT

BOOKS

Die Schriften des Alten Testaments in Auswahl neu übersetzt und für die Gegenwart erklärt von H. Gressmann, H. Gunkel, H. Schmidt und W. Staerk. Lieferung 1: Älteste Geschichtsschreibung und Prophetie Israels. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1909. Pp. 80. M.0.80.

This work aims to present the essential parts of the Old Testament to the general public of Germany in a form intelligible to them and therefore interesting. Those parts of the Old Testament not of interest to any except the specialist will not be included. The arrangement of the materials is historical. The text, in a new translation, is accompanied by brief explanatory notes and the necessary introductions to the successive narratives. This first section contains the stories of Samuel and Saul, Balaam, and Saul and David.

ALT, A. Israel und Aegypten. Die politischen Beziehungen der Könige von Israel und Juda zu den Pharaonen nach den Quellen untersucht. [Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten Testament herausgegeben von Rudolf Kittel, Heft 6.] Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909. Pp. 104. M.2.40.

A careful study of the relations between Israel and Egypt from the time of Shishak's invasion in the reign of Solomon. One result presented is the contention that Winckler's hypothesis that Muṣṣri, a region in Northern Arabia, is alluded to in many passages in the Old Testament where the word Egypt now appears, is lacking in solid foundation.

ARTICLES

COOK, S. A. Palestinian Excavations and the History of Israel. *The Expositor*, August, 1909, pp. 97-114.

A suggestive article calling attention to problems raised by the results of modern excavation regarding the early life of Israel in Canaan in its relationship with the rest of the Mediterranean littoral.

LANGDON, S. Babylon at the Time of the Exile. *Ibid.*, pp. 143-58.

The closing article of a summary of the accessible information on this topic.

EERDMANS, B. D. The Book of the Covenant and the Decalogue. *Ibid.*, pp. 158-67.

The second section of an article setting forth new views regarding the analysis of the Pentateuch and the origin of Hebrew legislation. Incidentally it is maintained that Israel was in Egypt only about eighty years.

NEW TESTAMENT

BOOKS

PREUSCHEN, ERWIN. Vollständiges Griechisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur. Fünfte Lieferung; κυριεύω bis ὁμολογία. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1909. Coll. 641-799. M.1.80.

An occasional inaccuracy mars this excellent lexicon. Under *Ματθαῖος* we are referred to *Μαρθαῖος*, which does not appear, despite its occurrence in Papias 2:4, 16; Matt. 9:9; 10:3; Mark 3:18; Luke 6:15; Acts 1:13. *Μεγαλειοπρέπεια* (col. 693) I Clem. 60:1, is an error; *μεγαλοπρέπεια* is the word, as all editors and the sole manu-

script agree. *μετέπειτα* occurs not only in Heb. 12:17 but in H. Vis 2:4:2; yet Preuschen marks the former as the sole occurrence of the word. *Νικῆτης* (Mar. Pol. 8:2; 17:2) is omitted, as is *ὁδμή* Pap. 3. Indeed Preuschen seems disposed to neglect the Papias fragments, although they are in the editions on which he bases his lexicon. *Ὁλοφέρνης* (I Clem. 55:5) also is wanting. In the main, however, Preuschen's work is admirably done.

RAGG, LONSDALE. *The Church of the Apostles: Being an Outline of the History of the Church of the Apostolic Age.* ("The Church Universal," Vol. I.) London: Rivingtons, 1909. Pp. xii+336. \$1.40.

In this attractive and discriminating sketch of the spread of Christianity in the first century, Mr. Ragg has not confined himself to canonical sources, but has included in his survey the whole field of the earliest Christian literature and other contemporary materials. The positions taken are generally intelligent, though not always critical. The arrangement is novel, and the indices full. There is a curious disagreement between pp. 7 and 284.

LÜTGERT, W. *Die Irrlehrer der Pastoralbriefe* (Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie, xiii, 3). Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1909. Pp. 93. M. 1.80.

The errorists attacked in the Pastoral letters were persons who insisted upon freedom from the law and claimed special spiritual gifts, practicing asceticism, and refusing obedience to church government. Their asceticism rested upon a dualistic conception of the world. In some points they resembled the Corinthian errorists. These positions seem to rest upon a careful study of the three epistles.

Historical and Linguistic Studies in Literature Related to the New Testament. (Issued under the direction of the Department of Biblical and Patristic Greek.) Second Series: Linguistic and Exegetical Studies; Vol. I. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1909. Pp. 604. \$3.00.

This handsome volume gathers up eight investigative papers dealing with New Testament problems, which have been prepared and published at the University of Chicago, between 1903 and 1909. They deal with "The Virgin Birth," "The Kingdom of God in the Writings of the Fathers," "The *Diatessaron* of Tatian and the Synoptic Problem," "The Infinitive in Polybius Compared with the Infinitive in Biblical Greek," "*Μετανοέω* and *Μεταμέλει* in Greek Literature until 100 A.D.," "A Lexicographical and Historical Study of *Διαθήκη*," "The Irenaeus Testimony to the Fourth Gospel," and "The Idea of the Resurrection in the Ante-Nicene Period." The volume constitutes a substantial contribution to New Testament study.

RELATED SUBJECTS

BOOKS

STRONG, ANNA L. *The Psychology of Prayer.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1909. Pp. 122. \$0.75.

An excellent study of the psychological aspects of prayer. Students of religion and religious education will find this discussion of great value. It is written in simple, untechnical language and is thus well within the range of any well-educated reader.

PEAKE, A. S. *Christianity, Its Nature and Truth.* New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1909. Pp. xxii+298. \$1.25.

Professor Peake, who has made his mark as an illuminating interpreter of Scripture, here tries his hand at systematic theology and apologetics. The purpose of this book is to help young people "who are slipping away from the faith because they have been trained neither to understand nor to defend it." His point of view is essentially orthodox, notwithstanding his wide departure from traditional methods of interpretation.

ROBINSON, LYDIA G. *Spinoza's Short Treatise on God, Man, and Human Welfare.* Translated from the Dutch. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1909. Pp. xi+178. \$1.25.



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Editorial

OUR "ATTACK ON THE BIBLE"

In violation of hitherto unbroken custom, we are compelled for once to reply to our critics. It has never been the policy of the *Biblical World* to engage in controversy. We are set for the promotion of the intelligent study of the Bible, in the interest of religion and good morals. We hold clearly defined views as to the proper point of view and method of Bible-study. These we have constantly advocated and illustrated. We have rarely if ever felt called upon either to attack the views of others or to reply to criticisms of our own utterances. Events of the last month, however, seem to demand that in this instance we depart from this policy of silence under criticism.

In the October issue of this journal there appeared an editorial entitled, "The New Ethics and the Historical Interpretation of the Bible." The clearly expressed proposition of the editorial was that the ethical questions of today cannot be decided solely by appeal to the Bible regarded as a compendium of ethics, i. e., as a code of statutes requiring for their understanding no reference to the conditions under which they arose; but must be met on the one hand by a historical study of the Bible and on the other by a similar study of present-day conditions. This position to which practically all theologians and intelligent teachers of the Bible and Christian preachers would give assent, we nevertheless regarded, and still regard, as important to insist upon, because so many persons fail to apply it consistently, with resulting confusion of moral judgment and conflict of opinion that hinders moral progress.

We cited as instances of the difficulty into which one is brought by an unhistorical, legalistic, use of the Bible for ethical teaching, the Old Testament commands to exterminate the women and children of a vanquished foe, the polygamy which the Old Testament per-

mitted, and Jesus' use and miraculous production of wine. The clear implication of the paragraph was that the Christian's moral sense condemns the putting to death of innocent non-combatants, and polygamy, and approves total abstinence. We argued for a historical study of the Bible, and against the unintelligent use of it in defense of practices which the moral sense of our day condemns.

Nevertheless the ink was scarcely dry on our pages before there appeared in the daily press reports of this article under such headings as the following: "Warns Church against Bible as Moral Guide;" "Calls Bible Useful only as a History;" "Bible not Ethical, Thirteen Professors Say" (there being thirteen names in our list of editors); "Attacks Bible as Ethics Compendium;" "Jesus as a Wine Drinker." In most cases the extracts from the article were sufficient to show a fair-minded reader that the headlines grossly misrepresented the editorial itself. Yet in some cases the interlarded comments were even more unfair than the headlines. Thus one paper intimates that though the editor did not quite say so, he really approved Sunday baseball and open saloons.

Distance and telegraphic transmission but increased the distortions. "Bible Ethics Bad: Chicago University Publication Has Startling Editorial." "Bible Morals Condemned: University Magazine Says It Teaches Bad Conduct;" "Sensational Attack on Bible Stirs University," were some of the headlines, sometimes mitigated by additional phrases, sometimes aggravated.

These headlines and the imperfect reports of the article that followed them were quickly made the basis of editorial comments. In one case the editor takes us to task for supposing that anybody could overlook the fact that the Bible is a historical record of the evolution of spiritual truths, and then proceeds to read us a severe lecture for "complaining" of this characteristic of the Bible. The headlines had done their deadly work on the mind even of an editor. Repeating in large part the views we had advocated, he sharply reproves us for having expressed them.

A New York editor found a different use for our utterance, and we were complimented on our fairness in admitting that the spirit of the Bible is against prohibition—a point on which we had expressed no opinion, certainly none against prohibition.

Loyal Christian souls disturbed—not by the editorial, but by the headlines—have written to the editors, some to rebuke, some to reprove, some to lament. More than one writer desires to know on what ground we have “rejected” the Bible. Others argue at length to convince us of the evils of the liquor traffic. A third, unlike these others, penetrating beneath the headlines to the substance of the article, reproves us for our supineness in the matter, and urges the immediate institution of libel suits against several papers.

We recite these facts, not to air our grievances, but to emphasize two things that seem to us important. In the first place we wish to emphasize the folly of believing headlines. The daily press is so given over to sensationalism, or so incapable of understanding anything except the most conventional utterance on the subject of religion or morals, as to be practically unable to apply plain and unsensational language to a report, however correct in itself, dealing with religious and ethical matters. The editors of the *Biblical World* hold some strong convictions which they expect to continue to utter, and are willing at any time to defend. They must beg not to be held responsible for the headlines with which the daily papers belie their own reports of the utterances of the journal.

In the second place the whole incident makes more clear than before the necessity of contending for the legitimacy and importance of the historical point of view in Bible study. The general public is still unable to recognize any middle ground between the acceptance of the teachings of the Bible as authoritative “from cover to cover” and the “rejection” of the Bible. One who points out that the Bible must be studied as the nature of the literature demands, i. e., historically, is “attacking” the Bible, calling its morals bad, making it “useful only as history.” Confusion of the public mind on this point greatly diminishes the moral influence of the Bible. The moral ideals of Jesus and the prophets can never have their full effectiveness while we refuse to recognize any distinction between these and the lower ideals of other periods and authors, or to take into account the modifying circumstances which conditioned the conduct and the teaching of a given age. It is even more necessary than we had thought to be on our guard against those who read only to find occasion for startling headlines, but no less—indeed more—necessary

than we had supposed to continue that type of teaching of which our editorial presented one phase.

Warned by this fresh experience of the need of precept upon precept, we affirm once more the position which has again and again been stated in our pages:

We believe that the Bible contains the record of the most important series of experiences and events in the sphere of morals and religion that are recorded in history. We believe that this record is supremely worthy of study, because through it as through no other medium men are led into spiritual fellowship with God the heavenly Father and into right relations with their fellow-men. We believe therefore that the Bible deserves to be studied by the most enlightened methods which the best scholarship of the world has discovered, and that the message which it conveys when so studied is of transcendent value to the world today. We recognize that the religious ideas set forth in the books of the Bible are not all of equal value to men of today, and that some of the practices of the Hebrews recorded in Scripture are not in conformity with the highest ethical principles, and that some moral statutes have been superseded by more enlightened teachings of the Bible itself, and that a study of the Bible unguided by a sense for history is therefore liable to mislead and to furnish ignoble souls occasion for scoffing; yet we hold most firmly that the fundamental religious ideas and moral principles that emerge clearly and unambiguously from a historical study of the Bible, especially from the life and teachings of Jesus Christ, are the highest and purest that the world has known. We believe moreover that in his penetrating examination of the existing situation and in his application of the fundamental principles of morality to that situation Jesus set to men of today an example which they do well to imitate, combining with diligent study of existing conditions a firm grasp upon the fundamental moral principles disclosed in the Bible. We hold, therefore, that the intelligent study of the Bible, and of the world after the method of Jesus, is the most effective means of promoting morality and elevating human society that is within our reach today. It is because we believe these things that we are devoting our lives to the furtherance of such study and are engaged in the task of editing the *Biblical World*.

MORAL TRAINING IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

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Is character-building the main business of the public schools? Character means right feelings, motives, and thoughts. Character means right purposes, acts, and habits. Character means goodness and usefulness. Shall these be the primary aim of our public schools? Are we chiefly to educate the children for moral success and social efficiency?

The leading educators today are answering these questions affirmatively. The National Education Association has officially and specifically promulgated this ideal. It is being expounded and discussed in national, state, district, and local conventions of teachers. The school journals, educational magazines, and general publications are alive to the theme and are presenting valuable articles on the point of view, subject-matter, and methods of moral training in the public schools. There are already many excellent books.¹ The public-school officials of New York, Boston, Chicago, and many other cities have definitely adopted this aim, and are modifying the curricula and the methods of their schools to develop in the boys and girls character and social efficiency. It is safe to predict that within twenty years this higher aim of the schools will be generally recognized and will have become dominant in the progressive educational areas of the United States. And it is of first importance for our national welfare that this larger function of the public schools should be achieved.

There are still many school boards, superintendents, principals, and teachers who hold that the main business of the public schools is to give the pupils an intellectual equipment and training. They say: the task of the public schools is to supply the three R's and the sup-

¹ For example: Scott, *Social Education* (1908); Dutton, *Social Phases of Education* (1899); *School Management* (1908); Tyler, *Growth and Education* (1907); Rugh, et al., *Moral Training in the Public Schools* (1907); Dewey, *The School and Society* (1899); Hall, *Aspects of Child Life and Education* (1908); Jenks, *Citizenship and the Schools* (1909).

plementary branches in the more advanced years. We have two other institutions—the home and the church—which have the specific task of supplying all needed moral and religious education. This division of responsibility and labor should, they hold, be continued—the public school should limit its effort to the intellectual education. If this were the extent of what the public schools accomplish with the children, it would still be a great institution, rendering a most important service to society. Mental equipment and discipline are essential to individual welfare and good citizenship. We cannot do without the intellectual training. In fact, we want still higher accomplishments on the part of the children—it is more important than ever before that the boys and girls learn to write well, spell accurately, read easily and distinctly, figure correctly, and think intelligently. The schools are greatly improving their material and method, and are producing superior results along these lines. We are all aware of the fine progress our national educational system has made—its power, skill, and dignity have become well known and highly appreciated. The schools have drawn to themselves a vast body of men and women officers and teachers that make this institution second to none in its contribution to national welfare.

If now the intellectual function and service had to be diminished, in order that character-building might become the chief aim of the schools, the dilemma would be a serious one. But no such diminution would be involved. Character is not something apart from knowledge and skill; it is rather a capacity and a disposition to turn one's knowledge and skill to good account for human well-being. The more mental equipment and ability a man has, the more moral and useful his life may be. Inefficiency in the three R's will mean moral and social inefficiency.

But in the very process of acquiring the three R's, the moral aim may be dominant and without extra time character may be developed. Along with the training in reading, writing, and arithmetic should go the cultivation of right habits, of right attitudes of mind, of right motives in work, of right uses to which these arts of civilization can be put. The children are to be helped to see that reading, writing, and arithmetic have high social values and ends to serve. They should avoid the notion that these things are being given them to use

for selfish purposes. They should learn that one's gifts and abilities are to make one better, happier, and more useful as a member of the great human family. Along with the familiar three R's, it is proposed to place a second three—*Right, Respect, and Responsibility*. Our shortcomings as a people are within the area of these new three R's.

We shall have reconstructed society when we shall have established a common recognition and observance of what is *right* for each and for all, so that no one shall interfere with the rights of others or himself find his own rights impaired, and each shall have an adequate standard of right to which he conforms in his own living.

We shall be greatly helped toward this high goal if we can acquire and practice that *respect* for others which is due them as brothers in a common humanity. Men as men are really deserving of respect. This self-evident truth is much obscured by reason of the multitude of us, the conflict of interests, the commonplaceness of many people, the degradation of some, and the cheapness of human life. Yet man does stand at the head of creation, he is master over things, the supreme dignity and wisdom and power in the earth are his. Why should we not respect one another? And what a difference it would make in our social relations. For if we respected our fellow-men we could not ignore them, despise them, or misuse them. And if each *respected himself*, he would refrain from all that injures or dishonors him as a man. Self-respect is the best protector one can have against the constant temptations to do unworthy things and to leave undone the things that would uplift us. Boys and girls need to be educated from the earliest years to self-respect. This does not mean pride or conceit or a false self-confidence; but a recognition that body and mind are ours to make the most of, that both deserve well and are worthy of our best efforts, that to attain manhood or womanhood is the chief end of existence and the supreme reward of all our striving.

And along with right and respect is to be named *responsibility*. One is not to live his life in disregard of obligations. A man has obligations to God, to know and do his will. He is not free to do as he pleases; there is a human ideal which he is to follow, there is a character to be achieved and a work to be done. He who recognizes his personal responsibility, who is responsive to the laws of the uni-

verse and the promptings of his best self, whose conscience becomes well trained and controlling—that man is certain to succeed in the highest sense; while the man who denies or evades responsibility, who habitually thinks, feels, or acts in an irresponsible way, will be a disappointment to himself and a detriment to society. Individually and socially, all men—every man—has great responsibilities which he must recognize and fulfil. But many persons fail in this vital matter, because they have been inadequately taught and trained. Our penitentiaries, jails, reform schools, and other institutions for correcting the wayward are the means we use for inculcating moral and social responsibility in those who have transgressed our social laws. If now our public schools were so to develop the sense of responsibility for right living, and were so to habituate the boys and girls in observing their social obligations, we would have less need for the elaborate and expensive machinery of re-education.

All will agree that right, respect, and responsibility are primary elements in the education of the young. Will all agree that these three elements shall be *primary* in the aim and work of the public schools? There are good reasons why we should make them so.

Education is a unitary process. It can best be carried on indivisibly. The physical, mental, and moral qualities can best be developed together. The basis of intellectual ability, of moral character, and of social efficiency is the physical self. Health is the foundation of goodness and usefulness. One who is in ill-health cannot feel right, think straight, or act well. Of course health is a relative term with us, but so is character; there is no perfect health, and also there is no perfect character. All that improves health improves character. This is both a reasonable and an evident interpretation of our experience. The ideal to be striven for is the perfect physique, a sound body in order that there may be a sound mind, a sound character, and a sound social service.

The public schools have taken up the investigation and promotion of the health of their pupils. In many cities now the school children are carefully examined by medical inspectors, who record the defects, and advise the parents as to what is needed to make the child well or to remedy the defects as fully as possible. In the Chicago schools, during the first six months of this year, 249,840 children were examined

and 32,159 were temporarily excluded because of contagious diseases. There were 72,061 examined for physical defects, and nearly 38,000—more than one-half—were found defective—the teeth were defective in more than 26,000 (1 in every 3); the tonsils in more than 17,000 (1 in every 4); the vision in nearly 14,000 (1 in every 5), etc. During these six months also the school nurses have been busy looking after the diseased or defective pupils. They have visited the homes of 45,000 pupils, to arrange that the children may be properly taken care of, and under the direction of physicians have actually treated more than 23,000 children. The school authorities find that many parents do not give attention and care to the health of the children—their defects of teeth, vision, hearing, breathing, or nutrition are neglected, and as a consequence the children are left to struggle along with severe handicaps if not with actual pain. So the public schools have assumed the enormous task of securing health for as many of the boys and girls as possible. This means also that the school buildings and the methods of instruction shall be in the best sense hygienic, and that the pupils as they progress through the school years shall be taught health in an all-around and effective way. The physical health which is thus built up makes for higher attainment both intellectually and morally.

Further, character—no less than health—requires to be developed along with the acquisition of knowledge and skill. The proper connection is not made, the proper unity is not obtained, the right point of view and the right use of acquired power are not secured, unless the feelings and the will are trained with the intellect. Also, there is economy of time and labor in making the educational process comprehensive—the same equipment and effort accomplish *three* things as quickly and efficiently as one. And the *interest* in education is vastly increased, for both the teacher and the pupil. So much more is involved. It might seem a small matter to teach a child to read, but suppose the teacher is at the same time engaged in awakening and training the moral insight and judgment, the social impulse and habit. The teacher's object then becomes not the development of a reader but the development of a personality—her task has grown from that of a pedagogue to that of a maker of manhood and womanhood. Even if it were possible—and it is not—to relegate

to the home and the church the moral and religious education, keeping for the schools only the training of the mind, such a separation of functions would be in the last degree unfortunate and unsatisfactory. For the public school should deal with the whole child. It should develop his health, his mind, and his character. Along with reading, writing, and arithmetic, geography, history, science, and literature, the schools should develop in the children—all the way up—the moral qualities of right, respect, and responsibility, industry, patience, accuracy, truthfulness, justice, kindness, moral sensitiveness, moral insight, and moral judgment, true feelings, actions, and habits, the social impulse, and the varied social relationships, the will to love and to serve, the supreme purpose to promote the common welfare.

We must look to the public schools to develop the character of all the children because the home and the church cannot be depended upon to accomplish completely this essential phase of education. Some homes fulfil their responsibility to their children, with wisdom, resource, and fidelity. Where everything is right in the home, the children will be well brought up—they will achieve character development. But the proportion of homes cannot be counted large in which the children's moral welfare is adequately cared for. Therefore the public schools must provide for the moral instruction and training of the child as well as the intellectual. If not, the majority of the children of the United States will fail of an adequate education in the moral and social spheres. Certainly everything possible should be done to increase the educational efficiency of the home, to convince parents of their opportunity and responsibility with the children, to persuade parents to acquaint themselves with child psychology and pedagogy, and in every way to become competent for bringing up their boys and girls. There is need of a vigorous campaign for the improvement of the homes, that they may be brighter, happier, wiser, healthier places for children to grow up in.

Strange and discouraging as it must appear, we are assured by those who know, that many children are in a better environment at school than they are at home. The home is the last retreat of individualism. Society improves all other conditions first; out of a respect for the privacy of the home, society has been slow to invade its precincts and demand its improvement. But even this step has

now been taken, for visiting nurses, settlement and salvation army workers, board of health representatives, charity officials, truant and probation officers, and municipal inspectors of various kinds are finding out and making known the conditions that exist in the homes, and are undertaking to see that the children shall be well cared for.

Yet the improving of home environment and the training of parents is a long hard task. It is easier and quicker to help the children morally and socially through the school than through the home. In the school they can be trained in the virtues and ideals of good citizenship, even if the homes continue to be negligent. The public schools have oftentimes to assume the task of making the whole boy or girl—and to the praise of the public schools be it said, they do not shirk this larger social task.

But what about the church? Some claim the church rather than the school should look after the moral and social interests of the children so far as any public attention to them is required. Certainly the church is doing much for the children, and is willing to do more. If the school refused this larger work for the children, the church would feel a greater responsibility for it. Since the school is accepting the public care of the children, not only in school hours but increasingly for all that affects them—physically, intellectually, morally, and socially, the church feels greatly relieved. Several barriers were in the way of the church's doing this needed work for the children. For one thing, the method of the Protestant churches has been to help the child through the parents. The churches are organizations of adults, and their direct work has been chiefly with adults. The juvenile department of the church—the Sunday school—came in only a hundred years ago. The churches have not now the machinery necessary, nor the habits, nor the ideas to carry on efficiently the moral and social work which needs to be done for the children. And the public schools are ahead of the churches in assuming this special function.

Again, the churches in America are private institutions, which means that they have no public revenues and are without state inspection. Their Sunday-school teachers and other workers are without professional training. The churches have no formal authority over the children or their parents; the attendance upon the Sunday school

and upon the services of the church are voluntary. The hold upon the children is not comprehensive, continuous, or strong. The churches work directly with the children one hour a week, the public schools work with them twenty-five hours a week. Obviously, the greater opportunity and influence lie with the school.

Besides, the churches do not reach all the children. In fact, the churches reach efficiently only a limited number. The Sunday schools of America enrol twelve million boys and girls, out of a total child and youth population of twenty-four million. But even in respect to these twelve million enrolled, the number is much smaller of those who attend regularly and do well the work of the Sunday school. And with the exception of those reached by the parochial schools, the remaining twelve million boys and girls grow up without the direct influence of the churches. This unsatisfactory situation is recognized by church people, and they welcome the movement of the public schools toward assuming a general oversight, responsibility, and activity for the whole welfare of the boys and girls. The schools can do this work more easily than the churches because they are official institutions of the municipality and state, because they have a revenue from the taxes, because they are non-sectarian and without hampering relationships and limitations, because they are scientific and modern in ideals, ideas, and methods, because their officers and teachers are throughout professionally trained and competent according to a standard fixed by the state, because the schools have authority to command the attendance of the children upon the school work, and in many ways to exercise control over them for their general good and for the good of society, and because the children spend the best hours of their days in the keeping of the schools. School is the main occupation of the child, and it is possible to make it the main influence upon the whole life of the child.

One further reason is to be noted why the public schools should undertake character-building. Character-development is chiefly a social process. To grow in character one must be with other people, and develop a social nature. The public schools have the most favorable conditions ready at hand. The class, the roomful, and the schoolful of children make the smaller and larger groups, presided over by the teachers, that constitute a most interesting and helpful

environment. The child needs this social life. His moral and social nature will develop best in such surroundings. Right, respect, and responsibility will in these relations be brought into view and become effective. It is proverbial that the child without brothers and sisters fails of a satisfactory home training, because the social conditions of growth are in part lacking; the association with parents or older people does not make good the deficiency. Children must have other children in their constant environment, to furnish them companionship, stimulus, example, language, and ideas. The circle of boys and girls to which the school child belongs have a most important part to contribute to his growth. Meeting, playing, and negotiating existence with children from different social strata, different groups, and different homes develop a breadth of view, a social spirit, and a fellow-feeling that enlarge and ennoble the life.

The church could furnish this environment with a measure of success, but it does not get the children together often enough, nor hold them together long enough, nor furnish a sufficient variety of work and play, to develop them morally and socially to the full extent. Nor can the home complete this special social development; it cannot provide the necessary numbers, equipment, pursuits, relationships. Normal children love to go to school partly because their minds are active and they enjoy intellectual training, but much more because of the keen delight they take in the social relationships, activities, and happenings of the schoolroom and the playground. This attitude of the child is exactly the right one. The moral-social element in school life is more vital and valuable than the intellectual element, and that is why the schools should give first place and consideration to character-development in the children.

The children should "learn to live by living." School life should be real life—not primarily a preparation for adult life. Childhood is a time of reality and growth, not of waiting and suspense. The child should not be burdened with thoughts of what is ahead, and how he must struggle long and hard to attain it; rather he should be shown the beauties and the joys of the present, so that he may be enthusiastic over being "seven" or "ten." How much anguish there is in the hearts of children through the longing to be "grown up." Parents and teachers should help children to feel that childhood is all

right. The whole race of men needs to learn the worthfulness of the present, and how to get a true enjoyment out of the day that is here. We make a fundamental mistake in regarding as uninteresting and unsatisfying the present happiness, the present occupation, the present attainment. Can we protect our children from falling into similar errors? Will we refrain from observations that make them think they are of small account until they are grown up? The child, like the adult, truly lives; both should live for the day that is, and trust for tomorrow. What we mean of course is not indifference or improvidence for the future, but sufficiency and contentment for the present. We need to dignify and glorify the commonplace, because our lives are filled with it, and we can't be happy unless we appreciate and enjoy it. So let the school bring the child into acquaintance with his everyday world, awaken his interest in it, show him the pleasures and resources of it, stimulate and direct him to participation in it, help him to find useful and delightful social relationships.

The kindred principle, that children shall "learn to do by doing," is also becoming recognized. In accordance with it, school methods are being modified. Probably in the end this principle will produce something like a transformation in the educational system. The reign of the textbook has been a long one, but mere book-learning is now seen to be inadequate. The children need constructive activity. They need real things to do, which will call into exercise several senses at once and employ their fingers. The workshop is one of the finest mediums of education; and some schools have already introduced manual and technical training for the boys, domestic arts—sewing and cooking—for the girls. The leading educators are calling for more work of this kind—for the trades and occupations to be introduced into the school system, so that children who are not adapted to or interested in cultural studies and the higher professions may equip themselves for careers in industry, commerce, and the like. In addition to the high schools which we now have, it is proposed to have industrial, commercial, and agricultural high schools to fit boys and girls for the various vocations of twentieth-century life. A truly democratic system of education will mean a system that provides suitable education for *all* the children, to train them for healthful, happy, and efficient living. Now, the world's

work has to be done, and men must do it. The needs of men have to be supplied, and this is possible only by hard, continuous labor on the part of many. The mass of men are destined to be toilers. With every possible effort to return to the simple life, society will still remain complex, exacting, and striving. Men must pursue many occupations. There is no occasion to invent artificial work, for that which it is necessary to do can keep us all busy. And after all, work is our greatest blessing. We would find life dull without it. Work makes for morality, idleness makes for indulgence and crime. It devolves upon the educators, therefore, to exalt work, to teach the children that work is not only their destiny but their salvation as well. The schools should equip and train children for skilled and useful vocations, that they may take their place in the army of workers with ability to do their portion well, and gladly, and profitably to themselves and to society.

This does not mean that the public schools should exclude or ignore the humanizing and cultural features of education. Education is not to be limited to an economic existence. But neither is culture to be counted incompatible with earning one's living. The necessities of life—food, clothing, and shelter—are the prerequisites of culture. The children should be trained to economic efficiency in order that they may then go forward to attain culture. Education has not completed its task until it has led the boys and girls to the higher altitudes of character and service, to the realization of the aesthetic realities and the enjoyment of them—literature, art, music, and all the refinements of life. We who believe in democracy want culture to be the possession of all. It is possible for the schools to accomplish this, because the state is back of the schools, and the state is pledged to democratize society.

The chief means of advancing our social status, of realizing higher ideals, of ethicizing our national life, is through the training of the younger generation. And the public schools have these men and women of tomorrow in the making. Let us find the way to educate them in what is right and helpful. Undoubtedly the schools should provide some direct, formal, moral instruction. Such instruction, however, should not be the mere committing to memory of moral precepts, the dry inculcation of the several virtues. It will be much

more interesting and effective if ethics is studied in its historical rise and development. Let the sociological problems be investigated as to the past and present ideals and customs of men, their reasonableness, the results which they accomplish, and the ways in which they can be improved. Preaching at the children is less successful than aiding them to find their way about in the conditions of life, clarifying their ethical judgment, and strengthening their ethical principles. It is not stereotyped morals but experimental morality that will accomplish most. The school should arrange such a varied life and set of conditions and occupations as shall give immediate and concrete ethical problems to be solved. Other ethical problems, which arise outside the schools, can be taken up clinically—analyzed and the solutions decided upon. We might say: the aim of the school is not to teach morality, but to develop in the boys and girls the moral and social sense, impulse, judgment, and purpose. New ways—many, interesting, and effective—are to be devised.

The school is to become a busy, intelligent, varied community of boys and girls, in which provision will be made for their many impulses, abilities, interests, and energies, where their personal characteristics and possibilities will be known and heeded, where occupations, industries, experimental investigations, and discoveries will be unlimited; where self-knowledge, self-reliance, self-control, and initiative will be developed; where co-operation, helpfulness, and sympathy will abound; and where brightness, happiness, diligence, vigor, and the joy of living will be the perpetual atmosphere.

COMMUNION WITH GOD IN THE BIBLE

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V. IN THE NEW TESTAMENT CHURCH

The place of Christ in the New Testament, were it not so familiar, would seem to us nothing less than astonishing. Undoubtedly those Jews gravely exaggerate who maintain that, for the Christians, Christ has displaced God; he has revealed him, not displaced him. "There is one God the Father, from whom are all things, and we unto him; and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we through him" (I Cor. 8:6). Yet there is just a shadow of plausibility in this charge of the Jews. The New Testament accords an honor to Christ which may truthfully be described as divine. His name is associated in the most solemn contexts with that of God: he is the way to God, through him we have access and peace; from him, as from God, flow spiritual blessings; men pray to him and commune with him, as they pray to and commune with God.

For two reasons this phenomenon is astonishing: first, because the men among whom it appears are monotheists of the most rigid and uncompromising type; secondly, because the historical person who receives this homage from these severe monotheists was their own contemporary. It was one whom they had seen with their own eyes and their own hands had handled who enjoyed this lonely pre-eminence among the sons of men. Christ is recognized as inaugurating a new era, as ushering men into a new world, as dividing history in two. This comes out strikingly in the Epistle to the Galatians, and nowhere more strikingly than in 3:23 and 3:25; history is divided into two periods—the period *before faith* (that is, faith in Christ) *came*, and the period *after that faith had come*. The communion with God made possible for men through and in Christ stands to any communion that was possible before it as sonship to bondage; and even though the contrast between the dispensations is occasionally expressed elsewhere in terms less absolute, it aptly characterizes the infinite difference that the coming of Jesus was conceived by Paul to

make in the relations of men to God. As Professor Denney has said, commenting on I Peter 1:21: "you who through him are believers in God;" this "does not mean that they did not believe in God before they believed in Christ; there was true faith in God in the world before there was Christian faith. But although it was true, it was not faith in its final or adequate form; that is only made possible when men believe in God through Christ."

This, then, is the curious thing, that men now believe in God *through Christ*, and their communion with God is in some way mediated through him. In the Old Testament men approached God directly; everywhere throughout the New Testament is the feeling of the indispensableness of Jesus. In all but four passages of the epistles, Christ is always in some way implicated in Paul's address to God, for whom the usual designation is "the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ." In the introductory greetings to the letters the Lord Jesus Christ is frequently co-ordinated with "God our Father" as the giver of grace and peace (I Cor. 1:3; II Cor. 1:2). Such a co-ordination, on the part of contemporaries, of a historical person with Almighty God shows not only the tremendous place which he filled in their religious imaginations, but also the adequacy with which they felt him to reveal God. What God now is to them, he is through Christ; and the only communion with God possible—for them at least—is through him.

Nor is it surprising that this sometimes took the form of direct communion with Christ himself. The context makes it practically certain that Paul's prayer for the removal of the thorn, which in some way interfered with his activity in the cause of the gospel, was addressed to Christ. Thrice, he tells us, he besought *the Lord* concerning this (II Cor. 12:8). Theoretically, the Lord may be either Christ or God, though the general usage of Paul greatly heightens the probability of the reference to Christ. But, as we read on, the probability becomes a practical certainty. "He"—that is, the Lord—"said unto me, 'My grace is sufficient for thee; for (my) *power* is perfected in weakness.'" That is the answer to the prayer. Paul goes on: "Most gladly therefore will I rather glory in my weaknesses that *the power of Christ* may rest upon me." It is impossible not to hear in these words an echo of the answer to the prayer; in that case,

the answer must have come from Christ, and the prayer must have been directed to Christ. In other words, communion with Christ is hardly, if at all, to be distinguished from communion with God. The revelation of God in Christ was so complete, and the relation of Christ as Son to God the Father so intimate, as to constitute a practical identity between them for the devotional life, where theological categories are forgotten. The impulse to this apprehension of Christ by Paul came to him in that great initial experience, when the risen Christ appeared to him, as it were, from the spiritual world, and spoke to him the word which transformed him and launched him upon his wonderful Christian career. It is difficult to resist the impression that Paul believed himself to enjoy a conscious communion with Christ. In Corinth, for example, where his ministry must have been attended by many difficulties, keen opposition, and much temptation to fear, we are told (Acts 18:9) that "the Lord"—apparently Christ (vs. 8)—"said unto Paul in the night by a vision, 'Be not afraid, but speak, and hold not thy peace; for I am with thee, and no man shall set on thee to harm thee.' " Doubtless Paul's communion with the spiritual world is sometimes otherwise expressed. In the terrible experience through which he passed in Asia (possibly in Ephesus), alluded to in II Cor. 1:8, he felt that he had been delivered from the desperate peril by God himself, and was conscious of being comforted amid it all by God (vs. 4). Again, in the great shipwreck scene, this sense of contact with the other world assumes another expression still: "for there stood by me this night *an angel* of the God whose I am, whom also I serve; saying, 'Fear not, Paul'" (Acts 27:23 f.). Incidentally, it is worth noting how these voices and visions from the other world come as a consolation and an inspiration, and in particular that their effect is to fill a timid heart with courage.

The remarkable thing, however, is that generally speaking, in these expressions of communion with the divine, Christ is in some way implicated. Even in the passage already quoted from II Cor., chap. 1, though Paul is conscious of being comforted by *God*, who is for this reason called the Father of mercies and God of all comfort, he is described in the immediately preceding clause as "the God and Father of *our Lord Jesus Christ*" (vs. 3); and still more specifically Paul acknowledges that this comfort, wherewith as he has just said

(vs. 4) he has been "comforted *of God*," abounds to him *through Christ* (vs. 5)—that is, it is mediated by him. In other words, in Paul's thought of God, Christ is not only not far away, he is indispensable. What God is now to Paul, he is through Christ. And this Christ, who has made God plain and brought him nigh, is not a mere memory, not merely one of the world's mighty dead, but the *risen* Christ—everything depends upon that. This risen One can and does enter into the life of Paul, just as God himself can and does. For the spiritual life of Paul there appears to be practically no distinction except that the thought of the earthly experiences of him who had risen—*Jesus*, as he is significantly called in II Cor. 4:10-12—touches the larger and vaguer thought of God with the warmth, the detail, the concreteness of that great human personality. It is the life of Jesus, of the living Jesus, that is being manifested in Paul's mortal body. Probably the earthly experiences of the historical Jesus, which must have been very familiar to Paul, however little he may say about them, colored his thoughts of the risen and reigning Christ much more powerfully than has been commonly allowed.

In any case, however, it is with the risen Christ that the New Testament epistles are chiefly concerned—with one who is the Prince of life and the Lord of glory. When we consider the amazing language used of our Lord throughout the epistles, we are not surprised to find that the Christian church soon learned to pray to him as to God. He is God's unspeakable gift (II Cor. 9:15). He is the one through whom all things are (I Cor. 8:6). He is the eternal affirmation, the consummation, the satisfaction, the fulfilment incarnate of the ancient promises of God (II Cor. 1:20), the finished realization of the divine purpose, as dreamt by or revealed to men, the living embodiment of all that pure hearts have hoped for, of all that God, by poets and prophets, has promised to do. He is the Emancipator, the Redeemer, the Transformer, the glorious Lord, the sinless One who died for all (II Cor. 5:14), the one in whom the old things are passed away, and, behold! they are become new (8:17), the one who, though he was rich, yet for our sakes became poor (8:9), the one who must reign till he has put all enemies under his feet (I Cor. 15:25). He is the one who sits at God's right hand in the heavenly places, far above all rule and authority and power and dominion, and every name that is named,

not only in this world but in that which is to come (Eph. 1:20 f.); the one whom God highly exalted, giving unto him the name which is above every name (Phil. 2:9); the image of the invisible God, the first-born of all creation, in whom dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily (Col. 1:15-18); the one mediator between God and man, who gave himself a ransom for all (I Tim. 2:5); the effulgence of God's glory and the very image of his substance, upholding all things by the word of his power (Heb. 1:3); the great high-priest who hath passed through the heavens (4:14), who becomes unto all who obey him the author of eternal salvation (5:9), and the mediator of a new covenant (12:24).

With a conception of Christ so daring and splendid, the offering of prayer to him by those who thus believed in him would seem, if not necessary, at least natural, especially when we consider how frequently his name is associated and practically co-ordinated with that of God the Father. The surprise rather is that, under these circumstances, prayers to Jesus should be so very rare in the New Testament. Apart from the prayer of Paul, already alluded to, for the removal of the thorn, there is the dying prayer of Stephen—"Lord Jesus, receive my spirit"—and the brief prayer in Rev. 22:20, "Come, Lord Jesus." These simple appeals are probably the earliest form of prayer to Jesus. This phenomenon, however infrequent in the New Testament, is very significant. Its infrequency is easily explicable. At first the impulse to pray to Jesus would be hindered by the deep-seated monotheistic instincts of his contemporaries, by his own command to pray to the Father, and not least by their recollection of him as a man. The farther men receded from the times of the historical Jesus, the more easy and natural would prayer to him become. But already in the New Testament the phenomenon is present; and this, coupled with its unanimous and adoring testimony to the unique relation of Christ to the Father, shows how real and how vivid God had become to men in Jesus, how near he had come to them, and how completely he had been revealed to them in him. To sum up, then, this part of the discussion, we may say that for the New Testament, there is no such thing as communion with God apart from Jesus. This, as all other things, he had made new. Occasionally, communion with the unseen actually takes the form of communion with Jesus; but generally it is

communion with God through Jesus. It was only through their experience of him, of the outlook created by him, and of the salvation accomplished for them and in them by him, that this particular communion, as distinguished from communion in the Old Testament, was possible.

Nowhere in the New Testament does communion with God receive the same consecutive treatment as in the First Epistle of John. This epistle might indeed be not inappropriately described as a treatise or rather a meditation on the nature and effects of fellowship with God. The object of the letter is that his readers might have fellowship with him: "Yea, and our fellowship is with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ" (1:3). Here we find the same association as we found in Paul of Christ with the Father; and this statement also vividly suggests that larger fellowship of men with each other, into which they are brought by their common fellowship with the Father and his Son Jesus Christ. Here, too, again—more explicitly than in Paul—is this sense of fellowship charged with warm and affectionate reminiscences of the historic Jesus. The life to which John is so eager to bear witness is the life of one whom he had seen with his own eyes and touched with his own hands (1:1). Fellowship with God is trenchantly described as a walk in the light; and if we walk in the light, we necessarily have fellowship with all other men who are also walking in the light (1:7). John thus happily suggests, for the second time within the compass of a few verses, that the only link that really binds man to man is the link that binds each man to God and his Son. For John fellowship with God is not some vague, mystic, spiritual experience; it has a definite expression and content. It involves knowledge of God and love to God (2:3, 5), and the test of our possessing this knowledge and love is a simple ethical one. "Hereby we know that we know him, *if we keep his commandments*" (2:3). Again, "*whoso keepeth his word, in him verily hath the love of God been perfected*" (2:5). And again, "Hereby we know that we are in him: he that saith he abideth in him *ought himself also to walk even as he walked*" (2:6). In other words, communion with God has for its outward and visible expression a life of obedience to the will of Jesus, a life modeled on that of Jesus. The Christian must "walk even as he walked." Here again, as before, we find the tran-

scendent importance of a knowledge of the historical Jesus. The fellowship with him which John desires for his readers (1:3) must be an intelligent fellowship—a fellowship resting upon an appreciation of the earthly walk of Jesus. It was in him that the life which is the true goal of human existence was supremely and completely manifested (1:2). To four points, singly or in combination, the thought of the epistle is continually recurring—the believer, Christ, God, other believers. In Christ and through the life that was manifested in him, the believer has fellowship not only with him, but with the Father, and further with all those who, like him, have fellowship with the Father and the Son. God is light, Christ walked in the light, the individual believer walks as he walked in the light, all believers walk in the light. The ideal world would thus be a world flooded with this glorious light, peopled by men who walked in it and loved it, a world which was all light, and in which was no darkness at all.

This is the ideal world, but in the real world there is darkness as well as light, and in some form or other, this contrast runs through the New Testament. Frequently it appears as the contrast between God and the world, and a man cannot devote himself to the service of both any more than he can walk in light and darkness at the same time. The true life is the undivided life, the life which is altogether in light. There cannot be at the same time communion with the Lord and communion with demons (I Cor. 10:21). "If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him" (I John 2:15). "Whosoever would be a friend of the world maketh himself an enemy of God" (James 4:4). Sometimes the contrast is between the flesh and the spirit. Nothing provokes Paul so much as the insinuation that he is "walking according to the flesh" (II Cor. 10:2)—in modern language, that his conduct is dictated by carnal and worldly considerations. The Christian is a "spiritual" man; the spirit is at once the source of his new life and the continual inspiration of all his activities. "If then it is by the spirit that we live, by the spirit let us also walk" (Gal. 5:25). The outward life of the man who abides with Christ is sometimes described as a walk worthy of God or of the Lord. And this walk is possible whatever be the station in life. This is trenchantly suggested by a few incidental words in Paul's discussion of the marriage question (I Cor. 7:18-24). It matters nothing whether a

man is circumcised or uncircumcised, a slave or a freeman; the only thing that matters is that he "abide with God"—and this is always gloriously possible. "Whatever be the state in which a man was called, in that let him remain—with God." The art of life consists in remaining "with God," close to the God who called us. To anyone who knows the peace and joy of that communion the most radical distinctions in the outward life, Paul argues, will be relatively insignificant, and he will be content to remain in the state in which he was called. "Were you a slave when you were called? Never mind;" for even as a slave it is possible to abide with God.

The practical effect of this communion upon the outward life will be very definite and very obvious. The man who lives with God is not only cleansed in his own inner life, he is also an effective social force. Nothing could be farther from the spirit of the New Testament than to shut the individual up with God and leave him there. Though he abides with God, he must also abide with men; he stands in relations to other men, and these relations must be worthily fulfilled. It is not only that "whosoever abideth in him sinneth not," but such a one will "render unto all their dues." From this point of view, the practical exhortations which so frequently appear toward the close of an epistle are very striking. After the sublimest arguments in which we have, as it were, been caught up into Paradise, and heard words unutterable—as, for example, in the epistle to the Ephesians or the Colossians—come simple appeals to wives, husbands, parents, children, masters, servants, to do their duty in their respective spheres. Not only is there no real divorce between these two aspects of an epistle, but the one is as inevitable as the other; one is the root, the other the fruit. Communion with God will express itself in the purest and noblest kind of social activity. To Paul it is the most natural thing in the world to conclude his great argument for the resurrection with a practical appeal: "Wherefore, my beloved brethren, be ye steadfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord" (I Cor. 15:58).

What is meant by communion with God will be best appreciated by looking at a soul to whom this communion was the supreme fact; and for this purpose it will be worth while to look a little more definitely at the life of Paul, as there is no man in the New Testament whom we know anything like so well. If ever a man lived evermore in the

presence of his God and his Master, it was he; and it is worthy of note that the most conspicuous element in the prayer-life of Paul was its note of thanksgiving. In everything prayer and supplication have to be blended with thanksgiving, as he told his Philippian converts (4:6), and in this he had learned the Master's lesson well. It was a duty "in everything to give thanks, for this is the will of God," and more than once occur the words "we are bound to give thanks." The frequent exhortations to his converts to "abound in thanksgiving, to give thanks always for all things to God," are but a reflex of the abounding gratitude of his own spirit. Deep as is his gratitude for all things, there is nothing which so touches Paul to thanksgiving as the contemplation of Christ—of the victory which he had won over sin and death, and of the spiritual blessings with which those are blessed who love and believe in him. He is indeed the unspeakable gift, and for him in superabundant measure "thanks be unto God."

The man to whom Jesus Christ and the salvation which was to be found in him meant everything, could not but be intensely interested in the spiritual welfare of his converts; and it is no surprise to find that intercessory prayer played a large part in the inner life of Paul. He had his converts, as he tells us, in his heart, and he could fearlessly call God to witness that he longed after them all. He prays that their hearts may be directed into the love of God, and into the patience of Christ, and that they may have peace at all times (II Thess. 3:5, 16). When he prays for himself, it is only that he may become a fitter instrument and win a wider opportunity. His prayer for the removal of the thorn in the flesh was no doubt dictated rather by his anxiety for the welfare of the gospel than by any longing for personal ease. His physical disability, whatever it was, he probably regarded as an impediment to his evangelistic work; but by the threefold refusal of his prayer he came to learn, not only in but even because of his weakness, a deeper experience of the power and the grace of Christ. For, tormented as he was by the thorn, this grace made itself so powerfully manifest that it not only comforted him amid distresses and persecutions, but strengthened him to do what was perhaps the mightiest and most far-reaching work for God that mortal man has ever done.

The Second Epistle to the Corinthians is the most autobiographical of all Paul's writings; and from its impetuous words there is fre-

quently flashed upon us the sort of character that is produced by communion with God. At the very beginning (1:4-11) we find him, in an hour of unusual and desperate peril, sustained by a sense of the comforting presence of God. He is—and, as a servant of Christ, he feels that he must be—a man of the most scrupulous sincerity, a man with a contempt for vacillation and compromise, a man whose yes is yes and whose no is no (1:17), a man who speaks as in the presence of God (2:17), evermore conscious that all his conduct and speech is being continually submitted to a divine scrutiny, and that he will one day be revealed in his true character before the judgment-seat of Christ (5:10). He bears ever about with him the thought of the future, at once consoling and solemnizing; and, for the present, he has the glad consciousness of beholding the face of the glorious Lord (3:18), and of enjoying a liberty like that which was the Lord's—deliverance from all that is literal and statutory into the free untrammelled life of the spirit. He is, too, a man of courage as well as of liberty; with God behind him and for him, who can be against him? He claims to be courageous at all times (5:6, 8), and the story of his intrepid career, with its peril and persecution (11:23-28), more than corroborates the justice of the claim. He lives under the ceaseless constraint of the love of Christ (5:14), and in the world he knows that he is above the world, triumphant amid seeming defeat and obloquy (6:8-10). Though the outward man was being gradually destroyed by the hardships to which it was continually exposed for Jesus' sake, the inward man was being renewed from day to day (4:16). Every morning Paul felt a new accession of strength and joy, as he faced afresh the work God had given him to do. His spirit knew no weakness or weariness; it was not subject to the law of decay and death. He faced the future with good hope, for he came to realize that life was but a pilgrimage toward the nearer presence of his Lord, and that death would take him home (5:8). And the secret of all this splendid courage and sincerity, this patience under affliction, this high hope in the presence of danger and death, was simply this, that his life was hid with Christ in God.

ANCIENT JEWISH VIEWS OF THE MESSIAH

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I

We do not speak of the messianic views of the Sadducees, because they had none. They had no belief in the kingdom of God as such, either in this world or that which is to come. Their doctrine left no place for a Messiah who would either exercise a moral authority in the world as it existed, or gather up into himself the eschatological expectations of his people in a glorious epiphany. And they could not believe in a merely national Messiah, because they could not see any possibility of defeating Rome. Their only fear was that some impostor messiah might arise and cause them to be deprived of the offices they held at the pleasure of their conquerors.

The Pharisees were the chief opponents of the Sadducees, and in the New Testament are usually mentioned with the scribes. The name means those who are "separated," that is, by a superior piety, from the common people, for whose ignorance they professed a profound contempt. Nevertheless, in religious matters generally they determined public opinion, and we will not unfairly assume that the messianic views of the Pharisees represented those of the common people, in so far as the latter had any definite views. While in common parlance the scribes and Pharisees were conjoined, these two names did not represent two coextensive groups. The scribes were the men whose work it was to interpret the law, while the Pharisees were the men who made it their chief business in life to embody the law in conduct. Thus while a scribe was usually a Pharisee, there were many Pharisees who for various reasons could not be scribes and were compelled to follow at a distance the interpretations given by the professed jurists and theologians.

Thus we may make a distinction within the school of the Pharisees, and divide its members into three groups, each marked by a more or less divergent conception of the character of the coming Messiah and

his kingdom—the scribes, the “meek and lowly,” and the fanatical Zealots, who afterward emerged from pharisaism and became a separate party in the nation. Not that these groups are always found sharply divided one from another, or that their views admit of no shading one into another; for all the elements of the pharisaic expectation blend in varying proportions in all the groups. But each of the types referred to is distinct; and it will conduce to clearness to hold them apart in our discussion.

“The scribes of the Pharisees,” who in the gospels are generally referred to simply as “the Pharisees,” were the learned and dominant element of pharisaism, the element that was continually in evidence during the public ministry of our Lord. The quietist Pharisees, “the meek and lowly,” while not conspicuous, were very numerous, constituting, as they did, the great bulk of the simple-minded, sincere followers of the religion of their fathers, who, like old Simeon, were “waiting for the consolation of Israel.” The Cananaeans, or Zealots, were the fierce nationalists, who had no patience with either the dreams of the apocalyptists or the legal disquisitions of the scribes, but who wanted the restoration of the sovereignty of Judah, and wanted it immediately. With each of these we will deal in order.

The position of the scribe, whose duty it was to collect and codify the law and expound its precepts, is thus set forth by Jesus: “The scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses’ seat; all things therefore whatsoever they bid you, these do and observe”—a direction however which received important modification elsewhere in his teaching.

Scribism issued in the Talmud, and for the study of the messianic expectation of scribal pharisaism the Talmud is the most important source. If to this it should be objected that the Talmud gives us scribal Judaism of the time after Christ, we may answer with Baldensperger that religious conceptions are very tenacious and that what was written down in the Talmud was already largely present in the rabbinical teaching of the time of Jesus. Thus the tractates of the Mishna and the apocalypses of the earlier period supplement and illuminate one another. And in any case scribal Judaism is not the whole of Judaism.

The messianic view of the scribes of the Pharisees contained the following main ideas:

1. The Messiah was pre-existent. Tanchuma, Nasso 11 reads: "Before God created the world he created in order the thora, the throne of holiness, the sanctuary, the patriarchs, Israel, the Messiah, and repentance." In the Book of Enoch¹ we read: "And before the sun and the signs were created, before the stars of heaven were made, his name was named before the Lord of Spirits. . . . And for this reason has he been chosen and hidden before Him before the creation of the world and forevermore."

There has been considerable discussion as to whether the scribes of the time of Christ taught the actual or the ideal pre-existence of the Messiah. Weber says that by it an ideal pre-existence was meant, and illustrates his point by a reference to Ps. 72:17, "Thy name is eternal." He says:² "The sense is that it was God's will from eternity to create the Messiah and send him into the world; just as those also who were named with him as pre-existent, the fathers, the people of Israel, and the sanctuary, were not actual but present in God's eternal counsel of salvation." But Weber does not carry his citation far enough; for Yalk 1:23, in the haggada upon this very passage, uses words that seem to preclude the possibility of the reference being only to an ideal pre-existence. After stating his view, as given above, he adds: "According to another view only the thora and the throne of glory were [actually] created; as to the other [five] things, the intention was formed to create them."³

So far as the Book of Enoch goes the evidence is clear; it is the actual pre-existence that is taught.

2. The entrance of the Messiah into the world. It is doubtful whether scribism ever succeeded in bridging the gulf between the pre-existent Messiah and the earthly Messiah. Bertholdt endeavored to show that such connection had been established by maintaining the identity of the Messiah with the Memra, or Word, of rabbinism; but in this position he has not been convincing. It is probable that the true connection is to be found in the direction indicated by Baldensperger through the conception of the Son of Man. But this teaching belongs rather to apocalypticism than to scribism. So far as scribism goes we are left with a sudden appearing of the Messiah in the midst

¹ 48:3-6.

² *Jüdische Theologie*, p. 355.

³ See Buttenwieser, *Jew. Ency.*, VIII, p. 510, art. "Messiah."

of the people. He had been born into the world, but hidden, until the fulness of the times was come. As Moses was hidden from the people until he suddenly emerged to power to lead them out of captivity, so might the Messiah even now be hidden; and later rabbinism would add, possibly hidden in Rome itself. The Messiah would come as a thief in the night. The Targum upon Micah 4:8 taught that the Messiah was already upon the earth, but because of the sins of Israel unable to come into her midst.

It is probably in connection with these silent years of unrecognized ministry that we are to set the Jewish doctrine of a suffering Messiah. It could not wholly escape the rabbis that suffering was an essential element in the character of the Servant of Jehovah, who moved through the later chapters of Isaiah, and was generally accepted as a messianic figure. But suffering was out of harmony with their system, it was an offense to their idea of the majesty of the coming One; and they were content to pass it over lightly and at length ignore it completely.

Delay there might be in his coming and a secret mission even after he was upon the earth, but whenever he should appear he would be a man, whose usual title was Son of David. In *Pesikta* 149a occurs this passage: "Blessed hour, when the Messiah was made! Blessed the body, out of which he went forth! Blessed the generation of those who see him! Blessed the eye that hath been accounted worthy to see him!" Here he is represented as being born of a woman, and thus entering upon his earthly existence.

The hopes of all Israel had for centuries been fixed upon the lineage of David. In the darkest hours of their national history his reign had been for them the golden age in the past; and, unquenchable hope reasserting itself, it had become the type and symbol of the golden age that was still to come. There could not fail one of his seed to sit upon the throne forever. Only for a little while under John Hyrcanus, when this ruler had won his great victory over the Syrian power and had not yet broken with the Pharisees, it seemed as though the Jewish hope could be divorced from the Davidic house. Then for a brief exultant period the pious Israelite imagined that the reign of Messiah had already begun upon the earth. In vivid anticipation of fast-approaching triumph, the author of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs

already beholds Beliar led captive in bonds, sin banished from the earth, the sword removed from the race of Adam, and the gates of Paradise opened. Then Levi almost usurps the messianic dignity of Judah, but not for long. The betrayal of the Pharisaic cause by Hyrcanus in 106 B. C. resulted in a final rupture between him and his former adherents and a revival of the hopes of a Davidic ruler. The later edition of the Testaments was a revision in order to restore in part to the Son of David the honor of which he had been deprived. But except for this one short period of defection Jewish literature shows us that the messianic hope is bound up with the lineage of David.

3. But if the Messiah is in his own person a purely human being, he is clothed with a superhuman dignity as the representative of the theocracy. He comes not of himself, but is called of God, who alone knows the time of his appearing. He is not himself the supreme ruler, but the vice-gerent of God upon the earth. The seventeenth Psalm of Solomon doubtless reveals to us the common idea of Israel, when the Messiah is represented as having Jehovah for his God and king, as reigning over the people of Jehovah so as to be a blessing to them, and as tending the flock of Jehovah as a shepherd. In some such way as this is his office conceived, but nowhere do we find anything that points to an independent action upon his part, or any assumption of divine majesty. It is Jehovah who sets him on his right hand and invests him with kingly honor.

This brings us to the question of the title Messiah, which is here used. It is not a characteristic title of the promised Savior in the Old Testament. It is not even specifically applied to him. Dan. 9:25, the one passage that some competent scholars have thought to contain such an application, is of doubtful interpretation and probably refers to Onias III. According to Ryle and James the first literary use of the name is probably to be found in the Psalms of Solomon, where it occurs three times (17:36; 18:6, 8). It now has reference for the first time, not to any actual reigning king, but to an ideal king who is to come afterward. But its implication here, as everywhere, is a king appointed by God, subject unto God, sustained and glorified by the power of God.

4. The great work of the Messiah is the redemption of Israel.

He is to be a Goel, a Vindicator, of his nation. He is to be a second Moses, leading his people out of the foreign bondage in which under one form or another they have writhed ever since the destruction of the temple under Nebuchadrezzar. The deliverance from Egypt becomes the type of the deliverance that is to be effected in the days of the Messiah. Specifically, the power of Rome is to be broken and the kingdom of the world is to be brought into subjection to the kingdom of heaven. In midrashic literature, such as the Book of Jubilees, Rome and the fate of Rome are sometimes glanced at under the name of Edom.

That he is to gather together into one in the land of Canaan all the scattered tribes is the burden of a large part of the Talmud as well as of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. One of the supreme blessings of the messianic reign would be the return of the wanderers to their land. The eleventh Psalm of Solomon discloses with moving power the Jewish longing:

Blow ye the trumpet in Zion, yea the holy trumpet of Jubilee.

Proclaim ye in Jerusalem with the voice of him that bringeth good tidings, that God hath had mercy upon Israel: he hath visited them.

Stand up on high, O Jerusalem: and behold thy children gathered from the East and West together by the Lord.

From the North they come in the gladness of their God: from the islands afar off hath God gathered them.

Lofty hills did he make low: yea even unto the plain before them.

The hills fled before their entering in, the woods gave them shelter as they passed by.

Every tree of sweet savor did God make to spring up before them: that Israel might pass by in the day when the glory of the Lord shall visit them.

Put on, O Jerusalem, the garments of thy glory: make ready thine holy apparel, for God hath spoken comfortably unto Israel, world without end.

The Lord performed that which he hath spoken concerning Israel and concerning Jerusalem.

The Lord raise up Israel in the name of his glory.

The mercy of the Lord be upon Israel, world without end.

And after the gathering of the tribes the temple is to be set up anew with holier sacrifices and more splendid ritual than ever in the past.

5. Closely connected with the expectation of the redemption of Israel is the doctrine of the resurrection. There are vast multitudes

of Israelites who have gone down to Sheol. Are they to have no part in the glories of the regenerated kingdom? The new reign must mean something for them also. They will be raised to behold the triumph of righteous Israel and the judgment of the oppressors. The dead who have awaited the redemption of Israel will be brought back from Sheol by the Messiah and restored to their temporal sphere of activity in this life. To the Messiah God gives the key of the awakening of the dead. The place where the resurrection will occur is the Holy Land. The trumpets will sound and they that are in the graves will hear and come forth. This is a resurrection for Israel alone. "And in those days will the earth also give back those that are treasured within it, and Sheol also will give back that which it has received, and hell will give back that which it owes. And he will choose the righteous and holy from among them, for the day of their redemption has drawn nigh."

It is however to be noted that the conception of the resurrection is by no means uniform or consistent. Sometimes it is a resurrection of all Israelites, sometimes only of the righteous Israelites, sometimes of pious gentiles also, and occasionally even of all mankind. The synagogues will then be no more hindered by the instruments of Satan, who will be bound.

In the doctrine of the resurrection the nationalistic ideas mingled, but were more or less subordinate to the distinctively religious conception.

6. His coming is to be attended with great signs and wonders, which will have their consummation in a great judgment. Wisdom will be poured out and glory will not fail before him forever. He will judge the secrets of the heart and no one will be able to utter a lying word before him. He will sit upon the throne of his glory and execute righteous judgment over the deeds of men, delivering the sinners up to tribulation and torment and exalting the righteous to a heaven of eternal light and blessing. But here too the conception wavers between a judgment at the beginning of the Messiah's reign and one at the close. Later Judaism settled the matter by accepting both.

7. The blessings of the Messiah's reign are a favorite theme with the apocalyptists. The following passage from the Apocalypse of

Baruch is of syncretistic origin and has been compiled from the compositions of a variety of writers:⁴

The earth also will yield its fruit ten thousand fold, and on one vine there will be a thousand branches, and each branch will produce a thousand clusters, and each cluster will produce a thousand grapes, and each grape will produce a cor of wine. And those who have hungered will rejoice: moreover, also, they will behold marvels every day. For winds will go forth from me to bring every morning the fragrance of aromatic fruits and at the close of the day clouds distilling the dew of health. And it will come to pass at the selfsame time that the treasury of manna will again descend from on high, and they will eat from it in those years, because these are they who have come to the consummation of time.

8. The place the gentiles will hold under the messianic rule is not very definite. There was indeed handed down in later tradition a clear rabbinical opinion that the Messiah's rule would displace the Roman empire in the world rule. And already in the time of Christ this idea was doubtless freely circulated in pharisaic teachings. This gives point to the proselytizing efforts of the Pharisees, some of whom at least looked for a universal ingathering of gentiles into the Jewish church. Others simply looked for an Israelitish overlordship, in which the laws for the nations would issue from Mount Zion. They even declared that as all Jews were to be restored to their homes and could not therefore participate in the government of the provinces, the governors must be gentiles acting under instructions received from Jerusalem.

But in any case, whether under one conception or another, the gentiles are to share in the blessings of the Messiah's kingdom. He will be a light to the gentiles and the hope of those who are troubled of heart.

9. Even after the establishment of the kingdom the Messiah will have another great struggle to undergo. The princes of the heathen world, sometimes referred to under the typical names of Gog and Magog, will not be content to remain under his rule, but will gather their forces for final warfare against Jehovah and his Messiah. But they will be defeated and bound. This war will close the earthly reign of the Messiah, judgment will be pronounced upon the guilty, and time will give place to eternity.

⁴ Apoc. Baruch, 29: 5-8.

10. The priestly element in the pharisaic conception might have had a more logical treatment earlier in our study, had it not been that in the time of Christ it had become so depressed and obscured under the other elements, that in thus deferring its consideration we are simply giving it the place which the typical Pharisee, if not in his doctrine, at least in his regard, would have been likely to give it. Yet the note of priesthood is a distinct one in Jewish literature, and was never completely lost until it was sounded full and clear in the writings of the apostolic church. In the splendid messianic hymn of the Testament of Levi, chap. 18, the priestly tone is fundamental.

Then shall the Lord raise up a new priest.
And to him all the words of the Lord shall be revealed;
And he shall execute a righteous judgment upon the earth for a multitude
of days.

The heavens shall be opened,
And from the temple of glory shall come upon him sanctification,
With the Father's voice as from Abraham to Isaac.
And in his priesthood the gentiles shall be multiplied in knowledge upon
the earth,
And enlightened through the grace of the Lord:
In his priesthood shall sin come to an end,
And the lawless shall cease to do evil.

In the Psalms of Solomon the Messiah is to expel "the sinners," i. e., the Sadducees, from the high priesthood to which they had no claim and upon which they had laid sacrilegious hands, and thereafter to exercise a priestly as well as a kingly function.

Such then in outline is the messianic hope of those Pharisees who had scribal inclinations and who occupied the central position in the religious life of the nation.

PAUL'S MISSIONARY METHODS

THEODORE GERALD SOARES

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Paul's missionary methods may be most conveniently discussed by considering first those elements that belong to the organization of his evangelism, and then those that belong to his own personal evangelism itself.

A MISSION TO THE NORTH MEDITERRANEAN LANDS

The narrative in the Book of Acts is evidently built upon the plan of recording the progress of the gospel from Jerusalem to Rome. It is probable however that this is only a reflection of the actual plan of campaign which Paul adopted, and largely carried out, in his evangelization of the Roman Empire. That he had such a plan seems evident. If the apostle had been asked to what extent the gospel was to be carried, he would undoubtedly have answered in universal terms. And yet it would seem that his conception of his own task was more definite and restricted. From the outset he left to others the three great centers of Judaism—Palestine, Alexandria, and Babylon. And there does not seem to have come definitely into his plan the evangelization of the Britons, Gauls, Germans, or the peoples of farther Asia. It was the Roman world of the Mediterranean, what we should call in modern phrase "the civilized world," to which Paul directed his energies.

THE THREE CAMPAIGNS

It is customary to speak of the apostle's three missionary tours or journeys. The term is not quite exact. The third of them was not really a journey, but a sojourn in the city of Ephesus, and about half of the second was spent in the single city of Corinth. We should come nearer to Paul's own conception of his work, and to an appreciation of its real significance, if we thought of three missionary campaigns. A glance at the map shows the westward sweep of the evangelizing movement from Antioch. First to the west was Paul's

native province of Cilicia, where he had already spent a number of years before Barnabas invited him to Antioch. Next was the Roman province of Galatia and, contiguous to it, the province of Pamphylia; next was the important province of proconsular Asia (the modern western Asia Minor), then Macedonia and Greece, then Italy, then Spain, and so the end of the Mediterranean world. And it is evident that such a western movement was Paul's plan of campaign. To be sure some hindrance caused him to postpone the evangelization of Asia until after that of Macedonia and Greece, and it is uncertain whether he ever reached Spain. But the great strategic plan of campaign that would stretch a line of churches from Antioch to the Pillars of Hercules is evident.

EVANGELIZATION OF THE STRATEGIC CENTERS

As a further element in this statesmanlike advance, Paul carried his gospel to the great metropolitan centers, intending that the lesser towns and country districts should be evangelized from these influential points. It is perhaps partly because he was a citizen of no mean city that he recognized the strategic importance of the metropolis. He must have realized that his own part in the stupendous task of evangelizing an empire could be only that of general; so, leaving to other men the task of widening his work, and trusting to the inherent power of the gospel in the church to diffuse itself, he concentrated his own efforts upon about a dozen great centers of population. How much time he would have allotted to the establishment of the new faith in each of these cities cannot be determined, because in every case, with the possible exception of Corinth, Paul was driven from the city by violence before he had completed his work. It is significant that in the only two places where he was not earlier expelled—Corinth and Ephesus—he remained a considerable time. Both of these however were cities of extraordinary importance. In the case of Thessalonica, at least, he clearly felt that his too early departure was a misfortune.

THE CORPS OF LIEUTENANTS

A part of this generalship and strategy of Paul was his organization of a band of lieutenants. First of all these were simply the companions of his evangelism, but gradually he drew more and more of

these disciples about him until he had a number of able men, who could assist him in his own immediate work, could be intrusted with important missions, or could themselves direct evangelism in smaller cities surrounding the metropolitan centers where he was engaged. Thus Mark, Sylvanus (Silas), Luke, Timothy, Titus, Erastus, Aristarchus, Tychicus, Epaphroditus, appear with Paul at various times, carry his letters and instructions to the churches, and act in various capacities, under his directions. A significant example of



A GATE OF LAODICEA

the activity of these lieutenants is seen in the evangelization of the province of Asia. The references to the seven important churches in the Book of Revelation indicate the thoroughness of the evangelization of this province. It was largely accomplished while Paul was making Ephesus the headquarters of his work. And yet many of the towns were not even visited by him. His letter to the Colossians states that he did not himself know the brethren at either Colosse or Laodicea, and yet he regards the churches in those towns as part of the fruit of his Ephesian campaign, Epaphras being in charge of the work there under Paul's directions. The keenness of the apostle

to lay hands upon a likely young disciple to promote his enterprise is seen in his immediate employment of Onesimus, and his desire to retain him in his service. It was doubtless owing to his corps of able lieutenants that he was able to accomplish so large an evangelism in the short space of time between his ministry in Antioch and his arrest at Jerusalem. And it was, of course, through the agency of these men that he was able to carry on his work so vigorously during his four years' imprisonment in Caesarea and in Rome. We should not fail to note as a part of Paul's generalship that he not only surrounded himself with a body of exceptionally competent men, but that he bound them to him by ties of the strongest loyalty and affection.

THROUGH THE JEWS TO THE GENTILES

While it is true, as already noted, that Paul did not preach the gospel in the great centers of Judaism, yet in each stage of his campaigns he addressed himself first of all to the Jew. There was every reason for this course. He would find in almost every city to which he went a Jewish synagogue, where the Scriptures were read, the Psalms chanted, the Messianic aspirations cherished, and the great spiritual ideals of the prophets recognized, at least to a degree. In the synagogue would not only be the Jews but also that significant body of gentiles, to whom the moral meaning of Judaism had appealed, even though they might not be willing to submit to its ritualistic requirements. It was this body of "devout men," or those "that feared the Lord," who were especially open to an appreciation of the new faith in Jesus. Moreover, Paul felt, naturally enough, that the Jew had a sort of prescriptive right to hear the gospel first. In every city therefore he sought out the synagogue and the Jewish community, took advantage of that informal character of the synagogue service that permitted a stranger to address the congregation, and preached his gospel as long as he could secure a hearing. The invariable result was that after a few sabbaths he was no longer tolerated. He would then retire taking with him the few Jews who had believed and the many gentiles who had been prepared by the synagogue for the spiritual appeal of Christianity, and, organizing these into a church, he would carry on a further campaign principally among the gentiles. So, while Paul is rightly called the Apostle of the Gentiles, while he

regarded his work as essentially a gentile work undertaken in the great cities of the Graeco-Roman world, and while he many times said to the Jews of the city where he was at the time, "henceforth I go to the gentiles," it was his invariable practice, even down to the time of his arrival as a prisoner at Rome, to begin with the Jews and to go to the gentile afterward.

THE ORGANIZATION OF CHURCHES

The organization of churches was an important part of Paul's missionary method. It was not a mere heralding of salvation that he undertook, but the establishment in each city of an organized, self-sustaining, self-perpetuating, and conquering Christian institution. So far as the actual form of organization is concerned, Paul does not seem to have contributed very much. Partly following the model already developed in the churches of Palestine and Syria, and partly following the ordinary organization of societies in the Graeco-Roman world, he easily formed his converts in any city into a self-governing body under the leadership of the older and abler men. These bodies were to conserve the spiritual life of the members, probably to carry on some religious education of the young, and to extend the gospel by the same methods which the apostle had employed in his own evangelism.

SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE CHURCHES

Over these churches Paul exercised a certain indefinite authority. He felt himself to have the responsibility of superintendence of the entire body of churches organized under his direction, and therefore entitled to visit the churches, to exhort and reprove, as well as to encourage and applaud them, to send to them his lieutenants charged with messages, suggestions, and instructions, and even in extremity to demand of them definite obedience to his directions. His converts were his spiritual children, and he expected from them that recognition of spiritual authority which parental love expects of immaturity and inexperience.

Paul's epistles are really a part of this policy of superintendence. They constitute an essentially missionary correspondence. They are not doctrinal treatises (as theology unhappily has often seemed to consider them), but counsel, guidance, suggestion, personal com-

munication, as the needs of the particular church in its particular exigency might require. What he would have done by admonition and leadership if he had been present as director of the church life he sought to accomplish by letter when he was away. There were thus three methods of superintendence of the churches: personal visit, mission of a lieutenant, letter of directions.

THE PROBLEM OF FINANCIAL SUPPORT

The problem of financing the missionary campaign was of course an important one. It seems unlikely that Paul had any money of his own at his disposal. Professor Ramsay's suggestion has much weight, that the conversion of the young Pharisee may well have resulted in a break with his family that cut him off from any pecuniary assistance from that quarter. No very large amount of money was needed. The travel was largely on foot, when not by water. The living expenses of such a man as Paul would be very meager. The cost of the work itself could not have been great. At Ephesus a hall was hired for Paul's preaching, but in general meetings were held—after the synagogue preaching was no longer possible—in private houses or in such places as the congregation could provide. But some means were needed for the support and traveling expenses of Paul and his companions. It can scarcely be supposed that the large church at Antioch sent forth three of their number (Acts 13:1-3) without making some provision for the expenses of their journey. And, inasmuch as Antioch was always Paul's headquarters, to which he returned again and again, that church may have continued to give some assistance. This however is mere conjecture. The only point upon which we have assured information is Paul's settled policy that his evangelism should not be supported by his converts. He would not enter a city, preach the gospel, gather a group of men and women into a church, and then ask of them support for himself and his companions. He insists more than once that in pure justice he might well do so, and that it was the custom of other apostles. A man whose life is spent in spiritual endeavor for others has a right, as a simple matter of business equivalent, to receive sufficient remuneration from those whom he serves to defray his expenses of living. But there may be circumstances which render it inadvisable to

exercise such right. This is clearly recognized today. It would only create suspicion if a missionary should undertake work in a foreign community, and ask for contributions from the people for his support while preaching to them the Christian faith. The modern church therefore provides for the expenses of its missionaries, and even when strong native churches have been formed, asks only that they shall be self-sustaining and shall provide for the expansion of the work through their own agencies. So Paul, anxious to be quite free in his pioneer evangelism in the gentile world and above any suspicion of self-seeking, refused even to receive contributions from his converts. With no missionary board behind him to finance his undertaking he fell back necessarily upon self-support. Fortunately the trade in which he had been instructed as a boy was such as to be generally available. In most of the cities of his sojourn it seems to have been possible to find a shop in which goat's hair was woven into coarse cloth, and Paul was able to secure employment. The hours in which he was engaged must have been those of a working day and the remuneration cannot have been large. Whether the small amount thus earned sufficed also for the expenses of Paul's lieutenants is not certain. In his own references to his labor he seems to have been particularly anxious to make clear that he himself was personally no charge to the churches. It is not the least remarkable characteristic of Paul's splendid missionary achievement that it was done practically in the leisure time of a working man, and with the meager financial resources of a day laborer.

PAUL AS A PREACHER

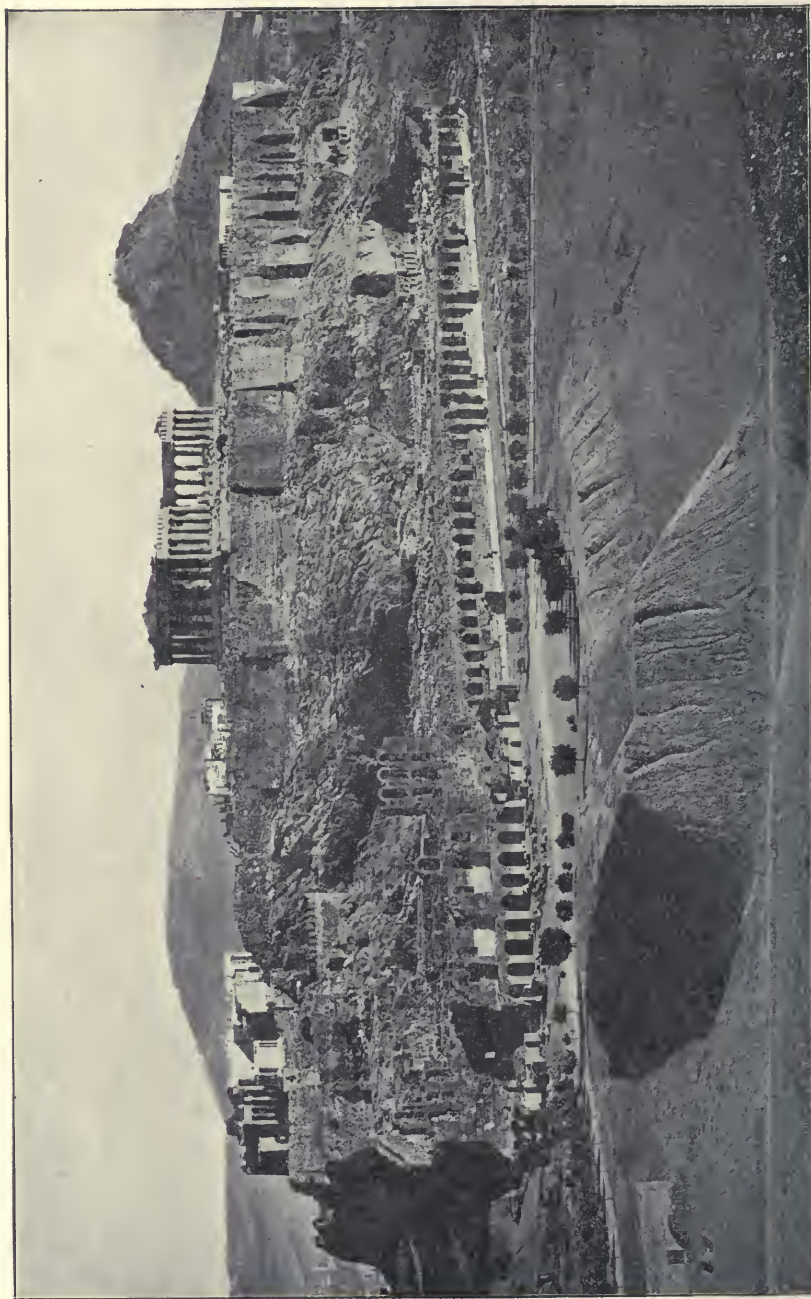
As regards the evangelism itself, Paul's method was designedly that of public appeal. He had the genius and passion of the true orator. Little concerned with the rhetorical devices and elocutionary refinements so greatly esteemed in the decadent age of Greek eloquence, and therefore perhaps not always appreciated by his critical audience, he had yet those greatest elements of the orator—those found in the prophets, the great tribunes, the reformers—a vital message, a fervent hope, a quenchless faith, and a burning desire to speak for the good of men. As already noted, the informality of the synagogue service gave the apostle just the desired opportunity for his public appeal.

And the accounts of the synagogue speeches afford us a graphic picture of an intensely earnest speaker addressing from Sabbath to Sabbath large crowds of Jews, "devout persons," and gentiles, in the endeavor to persuade them that Jesus was the promised Christ. So important was this method of reaching the people that in Ephesus, when the synagogue was no longer available, the lecture-room of Tyrannus was secured, and the public discussions continued daily for about two years. The historian insists that this daily preaching was so largely attended that practically the whole population of the province, as one errand or another would bring them to the capital, heard the gospel explained. It is indeed not unlikely that Paul's preaching became so well known that one of the things to do when on a visit to Ephesus was to go to hear the apostle.

PAUL AS A TEACHER

Much of Paul's preaching was in the marketplace or elsewhere in the open, and such address has generally a less formal character. It is likely therefore that, to a considerable extent, it took the form of discussion. Questions would be asked and answered, objections would be made and met; passing opportunities would become the occasion of remark. When Paul at Athens is described as reasoning "in the marketplace every day with them that met him," one thinks of Socrates in the same marketplace carrying on his conversation with the same Athenians. In both cases it is probable that the speaker was engaged with small groups of men rather than with a crowd gathered to listen to a public discourse.

As the method of popular address implies the characteristics of the orator, so this method of discussion implies the abilities of the teacher. And it is likely that this form of extending the gospel occupied a far larger part of Paul's activity than the brief narrative of the Book of Acts suggests. It is natural that the largest attention should be given to the more striking features of the apostle's public discourses in the synagogue and before the multitudes. But there are indications enough that the day-by-day instruction to smaller groups was carried on. This would be not only in the promiscuous discussions in public places, but very much more in the instructions of the disciples in the early days of the founding of any church.



Propylaea

THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS

Parthenon

Lycabettus

While a well-developed church like that at Troas (Acts 20:7 ff.) might offer opportunity for a large gathering, and a somewhat elaborate sermon by the apostle, the beginnings of a church would rather demand earnest conversations with the members of one or more families and instructions in the fundamentals of the faith.

PAUL'S PERSONAL INFLUENCE

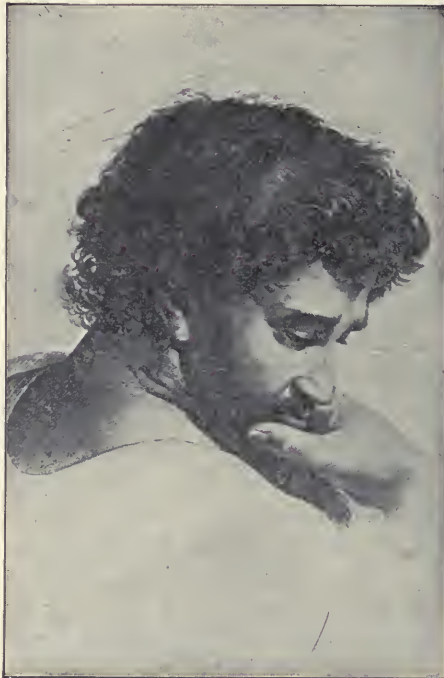
Indeed, the success of Paul's evangelism is not attributable in the main to his public preaching, but to his private teaching or rather to his personal influence. It was not a series of platform campaigns: it was the testimony of a life and a faith. Many a man who can sway thousands by magnetic speech has not the personal power to help the lonely human soul to fight its doubts, and meet its problems, and reach out to God. There are not wanting indications that the rapid spread of the gospel under Paul was most largely the result of the personal influence of that man of deep religious experience and passionate human sympathy. It is in the house of Lydia and in the family of the jailer that the foundations of the great Philippian church are laid. The house of Stephanas most probably became "the first-fruits of Achaia" through the personal exposition of the gospel, which their hospitality to the apostle afforded. It was the personal acquaintance with Aquila and Priscilla in their own shop, in which Paul was a worker, that was the means of making that noble couple the great Christian leaders that they became. And this shop acquaintance may very well suggest the constant personal evangelism that Paul must have carried on during his hours of labor with the various fellow-workers with whom he was thrown into companionship. And later in his imprisonment, when his preaching opportunities were so greatly curtailed, and for many hours he was alone with a single rude soldier of the guard, this unique opportunity of personal evangelism was eagerly improved, and he could rejoice (if we may so interpret Phil. 1:13) that he had been able to preach to a whole regiment of soldiers.

THE MIRACULOUS ELEMENT IN PAUL'S WORK

Although it can scarcely be called one of his missionary methods, Paul made use of the miraculous from time to time in his work. It

seems seldom to have been premeditated, but like the curse of Elymas, the healing of the lame man of Lystra, the exorcism of the Philippian girl, to have grown out of the circumstances. Paul does not in any way imply that his mission must be accredited by miracle, though he accepts these wonders as divinely given.

More significant than these few remarkable occurrences is the evident confidence of the apostle that his whole work was under divine direction. He felt himself to be led of the Spirit in all the difficult decisions of his complex undertaking. This inner religious experience, expressed of course objectively in the Acts and the epistles, was the motive power of Paul's splendid achievement. It was the great triumph of his sanity that he could plan and execute with the care of a strategist, while he prayed and trusted with the faith of a mystic.

*Raphael*

ST. PAUL

PAUL'S VOYAGE TO ITALY

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED
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Paul's life was full of adventure. His list in II Cor. 11:23 ff. is a remarkable one, but it is far from complete, for Paul subsequently encountered many a peril by sea and land. His best-known adventures, his experience with the mob in the temple, his rescue by the Romans, his removal to Caesarea, his great voyage, and his shipwreck belong to his later career. It is perhaps as the greatest and most significant of his adventures, or at least of those in which Luke shared, that Luke relates in such detail the voyage to Italy. So full is his description that this is, with all of us, by pre-eminence *the* voyage of Paul, notwithstanding his numerous other voyages and his various shipwrecks.

Luke and Aristarchus are Paul's companions as he embarks at Caesarea, a prisoner in the charge of the humane centurion Julius and his squad of soldiers. How Paul's friends came to be allowed to accompany him is a difficult question. Roman usage positively forbade a prisoner's friends to accompany him on such transfers. Sir William Ramsay has pointed out that it must have been as Paul's servants that these men went with him.¹ The ship of Adramyttium was an Asiatic coaster. Her first stop was at Sidon, where Julius permitted Paul to land and visit his Christian friends. The contrary winds which now forced the ship to take the lee of Cyprus were doubtless from the west, and the ship's course was to the north of the island. Hugging the coast and taking such advantage as she could of the land breeze, the coaster proceeded to Myra in Lycia, an important port. Here Julius found an Alexandrian grain ship bound for Italy, to which he transferred his company.

When Ignatius of Antioch was taken half a century later under a Roman guard from Antioch to Rome, his conductors brought him by

¹ Ramsay, in his *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, has thrown much light upon this and other points in Paul's voyage.

a different route. They seem to have made the journey mainly by land, and in late summer, for they were in Smyrna by August 24 (Ign., *Romans* 10:3). They hurried Ignatius on to Troas and Philippi, perhaps because navigation would soon be growing dangerous. From Philippi they proceeded doubtless by the Egnatian Way through Thessalonica to Dyrrhachium, taking ship thence, say the



RUINS OF THE MOLE, PUTEOLI
Paul's landing place in Italy

Acts of Martyrdom, around the foot of Italy to Portus. It is not improbable that Paul's conductors had intended to remain on the coăster until she reached Troas, and thence take ship across to Neapolis where they would strike the Egnatian Way. This would take them across the peninsula, and bring them to Dyrrhachium, less than a hundred miles from Brundisium and the Appian Way. Cicero going into exile more than a hundred years before Paul's voyage, had covered this same route in the opposite direction, crossing from

Brundisium to Dyrrhachium in 58 B. C., and proceeding by the Egnatian Way to Thessalonica, where he remained for some months. The unexpected presence of an Alexandrian grain ship in the port of Myra, to reach which she must have been blown far out of her course, naturally promised an easier and speedier passage to Rome, however. Its presence there, as Ramsay has pointed out, recalls a spirited passage in Lucian, written perhaps a century later.

Lucian was a Syrian of Samosata, a town lying northeast of Antioch. He was born about 125 A. D., and developed the satirical dialogue with remarkable success. English literature from Shakspeare and Swift to Bangs has known his influence. His dialogue entitled *The Ship* presents perhaps the best account of an ancient ship, certainly of an Alexandrian grain ship, which has come down to us from antiquity. Let Lucian describe for us such a vessel as Paul now embarks in. It is lying in the harbor of the Piraeus whither his characters go from Athens to inspect it.

Samippus. I say, though, what a size that ship was! 180 feet long, the man said, and something over a quarter of that in width; and from deck to keel, the maximum depth, through the hold, 44 feet. And then the height of the mast with its huge yard; and what a forestay it takes to hold it! And the lofty stern with its gradual curve, and its gilded beak, balanced at the other end by the long rising sweep of the prow, and the figures of her name-goddess, Isis, on either side. As to the other ornamental details, the paintings and the scarlet topsail, I was more struck by the anchors, and the capstans and windlasses, and the stern cabins. The crew was like a small army. And they were saying she carried as much corn as would feed every soul in Attica for a year. And all depends for its safety on one little old atomy of a man, who controls that great rudder with a mere broomstick of a tiller! He was pointed out to me; Heron was his name, I think; a woolly-pated fellow, half-bald.

Timolaus. He is a wonderful hand at it, so the crew say; a very Proteus in sea-cunning. Did they tell you how he brought them here, and all their adventures? how they were saved by a star?

Lycinus. No; you can tell us about that now.

Timolaus. I had if from the master, a nice intelligent fellow to talk to. They set sail with a moderate wind from Pharos, and sighted Acamas on the seventh day. Then a west wind got up, and they were carried as far east as Sidon. On their way thence they came in for a heavy gale, and the tenth day brought them through the Straits to the Chelidon Isles; and there they very nearly went to the bottom. I have sailed past the Chelidons myself, and I know the sort of seas you get there, especially if the wind is southwest by south; it is just there, of course,

that the division takes place between the Lycian and Pamphylian waters; and the surge caused by the numerous currents gets broken at the headland, whose rocks have been sharpened by the action of the water till they are like razors; the result is a stupendous crash of waters, the waves often rising to the very top of the crags. This was the kind of thing they found themselves in for, according to the master—and on a pitch dark night! However, the gods were moved by their distress, and showed them a fire that enabled them to identify the Lycian coast; and a bright star—either Castor or Pollux—appeared at the masthead, and guided the ship into the open sea on their left; just in time, for she was making straight for the cliff. Having once lost their proper course, they sailed on through the Aegean, bearing up against the Etesian winds, until they came to anchor in Piraeus yesterday, being the seventieth day of the voyage; you see how far they have been carried out of their way; whereas if they had taken Crete on their right, they would have doubled Malea, and been at Rome by this time.²

Practically all of the first stage of Paul's voyage (Sidon to Myra) and a little of the second were thus covered by Lucian's grain ship; and his account clearly shows to what length a Mediterranean voyage might be prolonged by adverse winds.

Much interesting material relating to ancient ships has been collected by Cecil Torr in his work, *Ancient Ships*. The larger merchant ships are said to have carried 250 tons of cargo, and would thus register about 150 tons. Warships differed much from merchant ships in their lines. A warship's length was about seven times its beam, a merchant ship's four times. Hence the warships were "long ships," the merchant ships "round ships." Great ships were not unknown in early imperial times however. Caligula had a vessel built to bring the Vatican obelisk from Egypt to Rome about 40 A. D. Pliny considered this the most wonderful vessel ever seen on the seas. The obelisk weighed with its pedestal 496 tons. Pliny says the ship took 800 tons of lentils as ballast, but even if the ship carried only the obelisk, it was an extraordinary performance for ancient times. Fifty years earlier a great ship had brought the Flaminian obelisk to Rome, and later Constantine brought to Rome the great Lateran obelisk, which by itself weighs more than 440 tons. Justinian's ships (533 A. D.) carried from 120 to 200 tons each, which may be taken as normal for merchant ships of the early Christian centuries.

To Myra the Alexandrian grain ship may have come direct from Alexandria. As she proceeded thence, the west winds usual in August

² Fowler's translation, Vol. IV, pp. 35, 36.

were against her westward course, and so she made her way slowly along, hugging the Lycian and Carian coast. At Cnidus this shelter failed, and they became exposed to the northerly winds of the Aegean, and so they ran behind Crete, and coasted as far as Fair Havens, still so called, which lies about midway of the island's southern side. It was already October, for the Fast had gone by, and navigation, for a first-century vessel, was becoming dangerous. Ramsay fixes this dangerous time preceding the actual close of navigation, between September 14 and November 11.

As illustrative of the tempestuousness of those waters in winter, Professor Gregory quotes a news item from Cyprus which appeared in the *Cairo Xpónos*, December 29, 1905 (January 11, 1906):

Bad weather has prevailed at sea, and the steamers which this week reached the havens of Cyprus were obliged to proceed without taking on or putting off cargo. . . .

As Professor Gregory remarks, "If that happens in the case of steamers, how much more with the sailing vessels of antiquity!"³

It was indeed so late that Paul, an experienced traveler in those waters, warned the men in charge that to proceed would be ruinous, attended with loss of the cargo and peril to the lives of all. A council was held to consider the situation. Whether present at this or not, Paul at least had a voice in it, through his friend the centurion. The question was whether to winter at Fair Havens, or to proceed and try to reach a better harbor, Phoenix by name, farther west, beyond Cape Matala. Paul's influence was not sufficient to prevent this latter course. The captain and the sailing master, probably influenced by the inconvenience of their present location, urged proceeding, and the centurion, with whom the decision, at least on this point of their place of wintering, would seem to have rested, gave way to them. They set out accordingly for Phoenix, hardly fifty miles away.

Much labor and ingenuity have been bestowed upon the identification of this Phoenix, which Paul and Luke did not reach on this occasion, and probably never saw. Luke's description probably represents the account of the place given him by the officers and sailors on the ship. Phoenix is supposed to be Loutro, "the only secure

³ C. R. Gregory, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, p. 677.

harbor in all winds on the south coast of Crete." But its harbor faces east, and Luke describes the haven of Phoenix as "looking down the southwest wind and down the northwest wind," or more freely "looking northeast and southeast." If this be a justifiable meaning for the expression "looking down" (*βλέποντα κατά*), the identification of Phoenix with Loutro is lightened of its most serious difficulties. A further difficulty relates to the meaning of *λίψ*, usually rendered the southwest wind. This is certainly its meaning in Aristotle and Greek literature in general. Thus on the Tower of the Winds at Athens, the name and figure of *Λίψ* occupy the southwest face. In Gellius and Pliny, and on an ancient vane-base in the Vatican, *λίψ* means west-southwest. In the Septuagint it usually means south, having this sense forty-three times, out of forty-six occurrences. In the other three instances it means west. In the Greek papyri from Egypt it invariably means west; indeed, it is the common word for west. Thus it means variously with different times, places, and writers: South (Septuagint); southwest (Aristotle, Tower of the Winds, etc.); west-southwest (Pliny, Gellius, the Vatican vane-base), and west (contemporary papyri from Egypt). While a choice between these meanings is certainly difficult, the testimony of the first- and second-century writers, and still more clearly the testimony of the Greek papyri, shows that *λίψ* was more and more losing its southern force and taking on a western sense. If we may render it the west wind, and accept the sense "down the west wind" for the expression *κατὰ λίβα*, the last difficulty with identifying Phoenix with Loutro seems to disappear.

The travelers had hardly rounded Cape Matala for the short run to Phoenix when the favorable south wind changed to the north, blowing fiercely down from the lofty Cretan mountains (7,000 feet) and driving the vessel off the coast and out to sea. Luke's name for this wind, *Euraquilo*, is unknown apart from this passage, and presents a curious combination of Greek and Latin elements. *Eurus* is the Greek east wind, and *Aquilo* is the Latin east-northeast wind. Such words, e. g., *Euroauster*, occur in later Latin, but not even in the Latin of this time. It was thus a sudden northeaster that struck the ship as it rounded Cape Matala, and drove it off the Cretan coast and out to sea.

Merchant ships carried two, or even four, small boats, or dinghies, and one of these was towing behind, on this supposedly short run. Luke records getting it aboard, which was effected only when the island of Cauda had given them temporary shelter. That they did not land there was doubtless due to the absence of a harbor. Probably too their case had not begun to seem serious. Ramsay identifies this island with the modern Gozzo, twenty-three miles from Malea. The undergirding of the ship was resorted to in the same brief respite. Just what it was is a vexed point. Ramsay thinks ropes were passed underneath the bottom; Torr holds that the ropes were passed longitudinally about the ship, as was done on warships, which regularly used 400-foot cables for this purpose.

Of course an ancient ship could not sail into the wind. When the wind failed or was contrary, she could only fall back on oars, if she had them. If Paul's vessel carried 276 persons, she must, it would seem, have been provided with oars. On any other basis it is difficult to account for such a number, which, on the other hand, was not unusual for a ship with banks of oars. But the text is in doubt at this point; Vaticanus and the Sahidic read seventy-six; Alexandrinus, seventy-five; Epiphanius seventy; while Sinaiticus, the Ephrem palimpsest, and most others read two hundred and seventy-six. There is no impossibility certainly about the larger number, but the entire silence of Luke about oars or rowers makes the smaller number more probable, and the textual evidence for it, though small, is distinguished. Lucian speaks of the crew of the "Isis" as "a small army," and says nothing about oars.

The storm continuing with violence, and the sky being overcast, the navigators soon lost all clue to their whereabouts. They only knew that the east-northeaster was driving them straight for the perilous African banks called the Syrtes. Indeed, had they missed Malta, they must have been driven upon the Syrtis Minor. To retard the ship as much as possible and also to enable them to divert her course from the Syrtis, the sailors at once shortened sail, leaving only enough to enable them to control the ship in some degree. So for fourteen days the vessel, well-nigh helpless, was driven slowly westward. Just what is meant by the tackling or furniture (vs. 14) is not clear. Certainly the rigging did not wholly go by the board,

for they were able on the fourteenth day, when attempting a landing, to hoist up the foresail to the wind (vs. 40).

More than one consideration doubtless influenced Luke to relate this voyage with such particularity. It was of course a notable adven-



ARCO FELICE
Between Puteoli and Cumae

ture. More important for Luke, it was one in which Paul's masterful qualities came out conspicuously. At many points the story exhibits the respectful and considerate treatment given Paul by the centurion Julius, the representative of Rome. And finally the good providence which watched over Paul and brought him, through one peril after

another, in safety to Rome and to his crowning labors there, must have been in Luke's mind as he wrote of the storm, the wreck, the sailors' attempt at desertion, the soldiers' proposition to kill Paul, the perilous passage to land, and then the viper's bite before the fire. With all this the whole wonderful narrative is thus all and more than Holtzmann calls it—one of our most instructive documents for the knowledge of ancient seamanship.



THE SITE OF CAESAREA

PAUL IN ROME¹

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Here the preliminary question—one affecting our view of the so-called Pastoral Epistles in particular—is this: what was the issue of Paul's appeal to Caesar? To the present writer it is practically certain that it was Paul's death, as a disturber of public order—a crime to which the imperial system was apt to be very pitiless, unless it had some special reason to the contrary. Now the special conditions of Paul's case were all against him. He reached Rome when Nero's first five "golden years" of rule under the guidance of Seneca and Burrus were over, and when he had already passed under the sway of his paramour Poppaea, who had strong Jewish leanings, which in turn influenced Nero's action in more than one instance told us by Josephus. But we are not left to such probabilities in estimating Paul's fate. The writer of Acts himself gives us to understand as plainly as he could, short of explicit statement—which was needless for his first readers—that when Paul set his face to go to Jerusalem, in spite of various warnings as to his danger, it was the beginning of the end of his career. He makes us feel that his hero was never so great as when he persisted in going up nevertheless, in order to assure unity in the church of Christ by a final token of gentile brotherliness toward the "poor saints" of the mother church in Judea, and when he continued to show his sublime trust in God through all the vicissitudes of the voyage to Rome. He shows us, too, in the closing verses of his narrative, how the wrath of man was overruled to the fulfilment of Paul's ambition to preach the gospel in Rome. *Paulus Romae, apex evangelii*. All this is true: but that the topstone of this summit of the gospel's triumph in Paul the apostle was his martyrdom at the hands of the tyrant Nero—this also is hinted by the author of Acts. Nor does he feel that thereby he is spoiling the moral of his story as a whole, which tells of the normal attitude of Roman law as habitually on the side of the Christians, in face of Jewish enmity.

¹ This study covers the International Sunday School Lessons for November, 1909.

For Nero was not normal, as everyone recognized at the time when the Book of Acts was written. Moreover its author had already provided the antidote to any erroneous inference from the fact that Paul was known to have been executed by Nero's order, by describing at such length the repeated hearings before Roman tribunals which issued in the finding, "This man could have been set at liberty, had he not appealed to Caesar" (27:32). Finally, that Paul so suffered at the end of the "two years" beyond which Acts does not lift the



TOMB OF CECILIA METELLA, ON THE APPIAN WAY
Paul passed this on his way to Rome

veil, and was not released so as to visit the East afresh (as is often inferred from the Pastoral Epistles)—let alone Spain—this is manifestly implied by the fact that Acts records Paul's presentiment to the contrary (20:25), underlined as it were by the author's own hand in the emphasis given to Paul's words by the comment added in 20:38.

Against such evidence in Acts itself nothing to the contrary effect can stand for a moment, not even that of I Clem., chap. 5. But in fact Clement himself, though he seems to imply² that Paul had

² Probably on account of Paul's purpose in Rom. 15:28, as with later writers.

reached Spain ("the bound of the West") ere he died his martyr's death, implies also that both Peter and Paul predeceased the "great multitude"³ of the Neronian martyrs in the summer of 64 A. D. If by this Clement meant that Paul's death belonged to the first stage of the persecution of 64, he is manifestly contradicted by II Tim. 4:16, and in fact by the whole context of the passage. If, on the other hand, he simply places Paul's separate martyrdom prior to 64, then he leaves no room for a journey to Spain and another to the East (such as the Pastoral Epistles are held to imply), but in fact tends to support the view that Paul was never released from any Roman imprisonment save by death. In no case can the upholders of a date for Paul's death later than the early part of 64 claim Clement as on their side.

Assuming, then, that Paul's sojourn in Rome lasted from about February, 60, to at least late in 62, and possibly for some months longer,⁴ we have now to try to picture to ourselves his experiences in this period, and that in the belief that the letters to Timothy and Titus came from his pen during this time. Our first task must be to attempt to arrange his Roman writings in something like their historical order.⁵ The tests which we have to apply are the following: (1) Paul's forecast of the course and issue of his appeal to Caesar; (2) the progress of his work in Rome; (3) the movements of his companions referred to in more than one of the letters. We have to inquire what each letter implies on one or more of these points.⁶

³ "To the company of these true men, life's citizenship dutifully accomplished, was gathered together a great multitude of elect ones" (6:1, *τούτοις τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὁσῶς πολιτευσαμένοις συνηθροίσθη πολὺ πλῆθος ἐκλεκτῶν*).

⁴ Acts 28:30 does not imply that the "two whole years" were necessarily closed at once by Paul's death, but only that during that period he remained "in his own hired lodgings . . . without restraint" upon the access to him of visitors for his message's sake. This may have been followed by a briefer period of close confinement, possibly after his first hearing.

⁵ Lightfoot places Philippians first of the "Captivity Group;" but most foreign scholars place it after Colossians, etc., and near the end of the two years.

⁶ To these questions of style are secondary, because inconclusive. Thus the difference of style between Philippians and Colossians, on the one hand, and Paul's earlier groups of epistles, on the other, are so much greater than was a priori to be expected, that it was for long treated by many as disproving the genuineness of the former pair, which yet are now generally admitted on other grounds to be by Paul. Similarly a priori we should feel inclined on style and vocabulary alone to separate the dates of

As to (1), we have to remember that the hearings at Caesarea had created a presumption that there was no good case against Paul; and perhaps the official report carried by the centurion Julius to Caesar rather pointed that way. At least this is how Paul himself would view the situation when he entered Rome. Hence our first canon may run as follows: An epistle may be regarded as dating *early* in this period *in proportion as it confidently assumes* the prospect of *a speedy release*; and vice versa. That is, as time went on, and Paul learned to appraise more accurately the forces at work against him—whether the feeling in official legal circles at Rome touching breaches of law and order in the provinces, and as to Christianity as connected therewith, or the strength of the Jewish influences about Nero's person—his tone would first become more dubious and then change to one of settled assurance that his release would only be through death. In this light II Timothy represents the last stage before the end; and next to it would come Philippians, as representing doubt as to the human probabilities of the case (1:20, "whether by life or death") though on the score of totally different considerations, viz., those connected with the value of his life to his churches, he has a kind of assurance that that life will providentially be spared (1:24-26, cf. 2:24, note "in the Lord"). Most notable, however, are the words in 2:17, "Yea, if also I am in the act of being poured forth upon the sacrifice and service of your faith [like a closing libation], I rejoice and share in the joy with you all." For not only do they let us hear between the lines of what is designed and meant to be a letter in the major key, for his friends' sakes, a note of deeper mis-giving⁷ than he cares to utter clearly; but the metaphor which he Philippians and Colossians respectively by a far greater interval than other considerations will allow. That is, in the last resort, the linguistic argument must be regarded as so limited in its application by the very different subject-matter of the letters in question, as to be almost useless. Particularly is this so with the Pastoral Epistles, since we have no letters to Paul's helpers, belonging to earlier periods, to place side by side with them for comparison. They are a type apart. The few years' interval, which those who assume dates between 65 and 68 can place between them and the other group, does not suffice to solve the linguistic problem by mere lapse of time.

⁷ Compare the cautious "as soon as I can discern my prospects" (2:23). To the same effect is the note of weariness which seems to make itself heard in the words, "having the desire to depart and be with Christ—for it is very far better" (1:23). This, in contrast, e. g., to Col. 4:3 f.; 6:19 f. (see [2] below), sounds like the tone of the second rather than the first year of Paul's strenuous and much-tried life in Rome.

here employed conditionally is the same that recurs with categorical certainty in II Tim. 4:6: "For I, for my part, am already in the act of being poured forth, and the season of my departure is upon me." Surely this reveals a continuous current of thought at two points adjacent in time, and in no small degree forbids our placing any other of the captivity letters between those in which so striking a simile recurs in such a way. Next in regressive order we should place the utterance in Philemon, vs. 22, "But withal prepare also lodging



PYRAMID OF CAIUS CESTIUS
Near which Paul suffered martyrdom

for me; for I hope that through your prayers I shall be graciously granted to you." Observe that it is only by the methods of the religious calculus, rather than those of human probability, that he reaches this hope (as in Phil. 1:24 ff.). Nor does he indulge in the expression even of such a hope in his more public letter to the church of which Philemon was a member (see Col. 4:9), or in his circular letter to certain Asian churches (our "Ephesians"), which were carried by the same messenger (cf. the closing greetings with those in Col.

4:10 ff.). There he makes only a guarded reference to his position, leaving Tychicus to explain by word of mouth what it would be unsafe to say in writing (Col. 4:7 f.; Eph. 6:21 f.). On the other hand, it is in I Timothy and Titus that the most confident and unqualified expectations of all as to his release find expression. "These things I write unto thee, hoping to come unto thee shortly; but if I tarry long . . . ;" "Till I come, give heed to reading. . . ." So we read in I Timothy (3:14 f.; 4:13); while in Titus (3:12) Paul informs his friend that he "has determined to winter" at Nicopolis in Epirus. From the fact that he adds, "Set forward Zenas the lawyer and Apollos on their journey diligently," we may gather that they were on their way to gather evidence on his behalf, possibly in Asia, where Apollos could direct the lawyer Zenas to the right persons. If this be a well-grounded suggestion, it would tend to support the idea that Apollos carried not only the letter to Titus but also I Timothy, written some days and weeks earlier (though quite in the same manner), to judge from the rather different programme of Paul's movements in 3:14 f., as compared with Titus 3:12. This would yield the order, I Timothy, Titus (spring or early summer, 60); Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians (written when Timothy had already joined Paul in Rome, late in 60 or early 61); Philippians (while Timothy was still with Paul, spring or early summer, 61); II Timothy (winter of 61 or early in 62), after the first hearing of Paul's case; second hearing, and death of Paul (about spring or early summer in 62).

As to (2), the references to the progress of Paul's work in Rome agree, so far as they go, with such an order. But it is only on the relative order of Colossians and Ephesians, on the one hand, and Philippians, on the other, that this test can be brought to bear. In the two former epistles we find the apostle asking for his churches' prayers "that God may open unto us a door for the word, to speak the mystery of Christ . . . that I may make it manifest as I ought to speak it" (Col. 4:3 f.; cf. Eph. 6:19 f., "that I may speak boldly"). In Philippians, however, we read how Paul's bold testimony in his hands has already borne much fruit, both directly and indirectly through the impulse given to others in Rome—some of them jealous and unfriendly toward Paul's distinctive gospel—to preach more boldly than heretofore (1:12-18). Similarly the bitterness of Paul's

disappointment with the degree to which Christians about him "all of them seek their own interests, not those of Christ Jesus" (2:21)—betraying him as it does into a form of statement more sweeping than his probable meaning, which had reference mainly to the restriction of the sympathies of the bulk of Roman Christians to their own local concerns—this, surely, points to a sad experience of considerable length touching the feature in question.⁸

Finally as to (3), the movements of his companions referred to in these letters seem to fit best into the order above suggested. Take first the case of Timothy. He is found with Paul in Colossians and Philippians, but is apparently at Ephesus in both I and II Timothy. The main question here is, whether he was away from Ephesus between the writing of these two epistles, or not. On the whole it seems most probable that I Timothy was written to keep Paul's lieutenant at his post of difficulty when anxious to hasten to his spiritual father's side on first hearing of his journey to Rome (possibly through Aristarchus; see Acts 27:2). This suits its opening words, which remind Timothy of a parallel occasion (1:3). For if the occasion in question be that of Paul's journey into Macedonia after the riot in Ephesus (Acts 20:1), as it is natural to suppose, then Paul would be more likely to refer to it on the first occasion of communicating with Timothy from Rome than a year or more later and after they had already met in Rome. Further, this view is borne out by the kindred epistle to Titus, which was probably written about the same time as I Timothy. If it be true that it was on the voyage to Rome itself that Titus had been left behind in Crete, to set in order church conditions—those of which Paul had only time to be made aware—without the opportunity of setting them in order personally, during the rather prolonged delay at Fair Havens, near the city of Lasea, due to bad weather (Acts 28:8 f.): if such be the situation implied by Titus 1:5, then it is probable that Titus would send a report and request for further advice as soon as the approach of spring opened up the sea-communication with Rome.

Now some words on the general impression to be gathered from

⁸ So too the expression "now at length," in Paul's reference to the revived tokens of the Philippian's care for his comfort, points to a considerable length of time spent at Rome before the material help was sent.

these records of Paul's life and work in Rome during the last two years of his career—an impression which does not depend in its broad features upon any open questions as to the order of his letters. Perhaps the main impression is this: How keen were the human sensibilities of this man, yet how complete his spiritual superiority to their demands in case of need. This comes home to us particularly from a thoughtful perusal of his letter to the Philippians, perhaps the most perfect mirror of Paul's personal religion that we have. But each of the other writings contributes something to our sense of the divine life realizing itself through Paul's humanity, and raising it even above its normal limitations to levels of superhuman moral heroism and self-mastery. To begin with, he had to undergo, almost from the moment of his arrival, a series of disillusionments as to fellow-Christians, in connection with the attitude of the members of the Roman church to himself and his wider work. It had cheered his heart after the anxieties of his long journey to the Rome he so ardently desired to see, to be met far on the road by "brethren" from Rome, living witnesses of Christ's power in the capital of the world (Acts 28:15). But this first impression was destined to suffer sad shocks, as he found himself and his faithful circle of personal disciples, who came and went on various missions to his distant churches as time wore on, largely isolated amid Roman Christians. Apart altogether from those of Judaizing tendencies, these appear not to have realized what the gospel itself owed to this prisoner for its sake in their midst, and to have been taken up almost entirely with their own local interests, for the ignoring of the interests of the one Master throughout the world, which lay so close to Paul's heart (see Phil. 2:20 f.). Then came the care of his beloved churches themselves, whether those founded by himself in person or those founded or being assisted by his disciples and helpers, such as Epaphras of Colossae (Col. 1:7; 4:12). Indeed the extent of his secondary or indirect missionary influence is first brought home to us during his confinement in Rome (II Tim. 4:10 reveals its extension to Dalmatia; cf. Titus 3:12, Nicopolis). His soul carried on a constant contest with the powers of evil and error on behalf of these, often unknown, children in the faith (Col. 1:29—2:1). Further, we get most pleasing glimpses into his personal relationships; the enthusiasm of his regard and love for a loyal and

disinterested fellow-worker like Timothy (Phil. 2:20, 22), or for a self-forgetful Epaphroditus; the tact and the fine regard for another's feelings, coupled with gracious humor, visible in his letter to Philemon, the letter of the "perfect Christian gentleman;" the dignified gratitude, rejoicing in the givers more than in their gift, which breathes in Phil. 4:10 ff.; the bracing sympathy with which he handles Timothy's rather tender, clinging nature in the opening of his last letter to him (1:3 ff.). In all these we see that the human friend was not swallowed up in the apostle of Jesus Christ, but only glorified and raised to a higher power in a soul bound to others by the deepest of bonds, common devotion to a noble and divine cause, and set "at leisure from itself" to cheer and sympathize. How completely Paul was removed from the Stoic type of the "self-sufficient man"—the master of his own fate—while yet lifted by the power of Another above the level where the storm of circumstance can fret and annoy, is manifest in Phil. 4:10 ff.

Lastly, all must be struck by his calm heroism, as he faced death almost alone and in the face of seeming disaster to the cause he knew himself, as no other, to represent (see II Tim. 4:6-8, 17 f.). Verily Paul was the type of "the Victory that overcometh the world, even our faith"—the faith in God through Christ, his Lord and ours.

Book Reviews

The Pauline Epistles: A Critical Study. By Robert Scott. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1909. Imported by Scribner. Pp. 376. \$2 net.

During the last half-century the Pauline letters have been the subject of some careful investigation, but the author of the present work does not build upon any foundations previously laid. His construction from basement to attic has the merit of being his own. In fact he quite ignores his predecessors and thus avoids the task of refuting their opinions in order to make room for his. For example, he places the writing of Galatians in the period of Paul's Roman imprisonment and entirely overlooks the fact that his view is impossible, according to the present consensus of critical opinion. This is a fair sample of the author's attitude toward current views.

His own hypothesis is this: the letters usually assigned to Paul are the result of a literary activity in which four persons participated. First, there is the strictly Pauline group, including I Cor. (except 15:20-34); II Cor. (except 6:14-7:1 and 13:11-14); Rom., chaps. 1-11; 16:1-16, 21-24; Gal. and Phil. (except some interpolations in each). There is, secondly, an "exhortation" group written by Silas. It includes Eph.; Heb.; I Peter; I Thess., chaps. 4 and 5; II Thess., chaps. 1 and 2; Rom., chaps. 12, 13, and 15; I Cor. 15:20-34; II Cor. 6:14-7:1; the Gospel of Matt. in its final editing and perhaps slight elements in Acts. Timothy is the author of a third group; I Thess., chaps. 1-3; II Thess., chap. 3; Col.; Philemon; probably Rom., chap. 14, and the final form of Mark's Gospel. Finally comes the Pastoral group (II Tim., I Tim., Titus) written by Luke, who was also the writer of the Third Gospel and Acts. This grouping is not to be taken as chronological. II Timothy is one of the earliest of the post-Pauline letters, and the gospels in their present form may have appeared in the order of Luke, Matthew, Mark. Nor does our author consider any one of the four groups to be entirely free from Pauline influence. On the contrary, they represent phases of his teaching interpreted by his most intimate associates who belonged to one age and were intimately associated among themselves. Hence we must not think of these "groups" as coming from different historical periods—"they show the wealth, variety and activity of mind that belonged to the first Christian generation."

Scarcely any attention is given to problems of date, place, and circumstances of composition. The discussion is confined to the question of

authorship, and the conclusions are based solely upon characteristics of thought and style. One set of ideas and expressions is selected as representing, respectively, Paul, Silas, Timothy, Luke. But how are the lines of differentiation to be determined? This is the crucial point in the theory, and the whole structure the author rears will collapse if his answer to this question does not prove satisfactory. What is his answer?

The first group is found to differ from the others in certain traits of thought and language, therefore these traits are Pauline and the others are not. This reasoning proceeds from two presuppositions, first, the first set of characteristics is genuinely and exclusively Pauline and, second, it covers the whole range of Paul's thought and style. Since the author is so skeptical about traditional views, he should have given his readers more positive evidence for the authenticity of the first group. But his second assumption is still more problematic. He thinks Paul began with a definitely worked-out system of thought, which took shape in his mind in Arabia, which he never later reshaped, and which he expressed under all circumstances by an unvarying set of phrases found in I and II Cor., Gal., and the first eleven chapters of Rom. These traits are Pauline, so no others can be. But is it safe to say so much? Probably Paul's elasticity has sometimes been overworked, yet is it inconceivable that he should have varied his method of attack, or have shifted his point of view, as he was confronted by one set of conditions in Galatia, by another in Thessalonica, by another in Corinth, or by another in Rome? Indeed it is precarious to place great stress upon the theory of uniform diction when it is remembered that he used the language of the common people as he visited communities in many parts of the empire. By force of circumstances he became "all things to all men," and even his vocabulary must have felt the effect of this leveling influence. He never made any claim to be a litterateur. Scott's method seems too subjective, is too much given to ignoring actual historical circumstances, to be trusted.

This neglect of historical situations is perhaps the greatest weakness of the presentation. The idea of variety in the Pauline literature, due in some measure to the Apostle's helpers, is not in itself improbable. His companions may often have served him as amanuenses and so have influenced the form and the diction of some letters more than is usually supposed, but it is difficult to conceive just how the hypothesis Scott presents could work itself out historically. He leaves his readers almost wholly in the dark at this point. When and where were the letters of the non-Pauline groups written? It seems to be assumed that they were written soon after Paul's death, at least within that generation since the authors were his companions,

but at that time how was this pseudepigraphic literary movement practically possible? To be specific, Luke, who had been Paul's companion at Rome, is supposed to have written II Timothy just after the Apostle's martyrdom (placed by Scott about 63 A. D.), "partly to record last words and messages, partly to memorise a solemn occasion, but mainly to throw on Timothy the burden of the succession and to invest him with a portion of the mantle" (p. 353). Imagine the situation! A friend who had been upon the scene writes to a friend a few days after their mutual friend and teacher has been martyred. It is difficult to think II Timothy can fit that situation. Apart from the improbability that Luke would write this type of letter under these circumstances, is the presence of items which indicate Paul's personal wants—Timothy is to bring the books and the cloke. Was Luke thinking of the chilly nether regions, or was he scheming to get the cloke?

This book is not entirely valueless. It has pointed out with fresh emphasis variations of thought and expression in the Pauline writings, but the theory offered for the solution of the problem is of doubtful worth. Others have felt difficulty in assigning all thirteen letters to the same author, but, by making those that seemed non-Pauline the product of a later age in the development of Christian needs, they have avoided mechanically restricting the range of Paul's thought, they have provided an intelligible motive for the rise of the literature and an intelligible historical situation. In these respects Scott's work is seriously defective.

SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Man and the Bible: A Review of the Place of the Bible in Human History. By J. ALLANSON PICTON, M.A. London: Williams and Norgate; New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1909. Pp. 334. \$2.00.

The secondary title of this book is a correct indication of the task which the author sets for himself. His point of view is frankly and severely critical. In his discussion he has in mind the bearing of all modern science upon the subject.

Picton regards the Bible as the literary record of one chapter in the history of human development. He knows no reason for, but many against, regarding it as in any peculiar sense the Word of God. This conception of the Bible he finds present in the thought of the church throughout its history, but it reached its height in the nineteenth century. During most of the history of the church the Bible was the possession of the priestly classes and the common people knew it only indirectly. It is interesting, he

writes, "to trace the gradual process by which the priestly palladium of the earlier centuries became a universal household god in the late century." Before the age of printing the influence of the Bible was so indirect and so slight that "a superficial observer might have regarded it as negligible." It was only one of the *magica* or fetishes possessed by the church. The church herself was the divine institution and it was her authority that gave significance to the book of which she was custodian.

In this part of his work the author is sketchy, considers his real subject indirectly, discusses some irrelevant material, and is unsatisfactory. The book in this respect is disappointing. It is impossible to get from it any clear understanding of the conception of the Bible which prevailed through the centuries. It is however made tolerably clear that it is only in modern times that the Bible has been a book of the people easily accessible and familiar to them.

The last three chapters but one of the book deal severally with the Bible in its relation to religion, morality, and social evolution. They point out that on reflection it is easy to perceive that the influence of the Bible in these departments of human life and development is much less than is commonly taken for granted. Countless ages before the Bible came into existence the race was in process of religious development. Even since it was written it has touched but a very minor part of the world's life. It is the sacred literature of only a small group of tribes in a very small section of humanity. There are other sacred literatures that have wielded a very wide influence in their respective parts of the world. There is no reason for calling the Bible the Word of God. If he had been concerned in its giving in any peculiar sense he would have seen to it that it was given to all the world. The morality of the world has in the same way developed in large measure independently of the influence of the Bible. Even more, the Bible's morality is not all of a piece. In some parts it is defective and repugnant to the moral consciousness of the most advanced nations of the world today. In respect to social development, especially its two particulars of culture and freedom, the Bible has likewise made but small contribution. Nay, more, it has frequently been an opposing force. The church has used her Bible to stem the tide of human progress in many ways.

Whatever we may think of these and other things the author has written, his closing words, which we quote, express the sentiment of a very large and constantly enlarging constituency:

The evolution of man will some day be universally regarded not as a series of catastrophes, or divine interventions, creating disconnected epochs, but as a graduated and self-consistent process. When this view of human evolution

becomes universal, no one will think of eliminating the Bible as a notable and influential factor among the influences that have made the foremost races what they are. The superstitious belief natural to the childhood of man, that we have here a message from a man-like God, of which every word is true, will indeed have evaporated into the cloudless sky of a brighter intellectual day. But equally superstitious will seem the notion entertained by a few sciolists intoxicated with a partial emancipation from authority, that this great literature is merely the work of designing priestcraft and interested fraud. On the contrary, the Bible will always keep its place as the most precious treasure ever inherited by any "people of the Book," and will vindicate more and more against its ignorant, misled, or wilful interpreters of the past, its claim to be a still-living record of the struggle of man toward purity, freedom, and light.

J. W. BAILEY

OSHKOSH, WIS

New Literature

The most important books listed in these columns will receive notice in the book-review pages.

OLD TESTAMENT

BOOKS

Box, G. H. *The Book of Isaiah, Translated from a Text Revised in Accordance with the Results of Recent Criticism. With Introductions, Critical Notes and Explanations, and Two Maps. Together with a Prefatory Note by Professor S. R. Driver.* New York: Macmillan, 1909. Pp. xv+365. \$2.25.

The translation constitutes the bulk of this book. The introductions and notes are very condensed. The author proceeds upon the basis of historical criticism, showing the assignment of the materials to their various sources by means of different styles of type. He attempts no original contribution in the analysis of sources, but contents himself with the views of Duhm for the most part. The translation is well done and is deserving of praise for its endeavor to adhere to the poetical form of the original. The book is well within the reach of any educated reader, all Hebrew and Greek forms being rigidly excluded.

WARREN, W. F. *The Earliest Cosmologies. The Universe as Pictured in Thought by the Ancient Hebrews, Babylonians, Egyptians, Greeks, Iranians, and Indo-Aryans. A Guidebook for Beginners in the Study of Ancient Literatures and Religions.* New York: Eaton & Mains, 1909. Pp. 222. \$1.50.

An interesting presentation of a new interpretation of the Babylonian and Hebrew world-views is the striking thing in this book. The scheme is a very complicated one, and must be passed upon for its validity by specialists in the various languages and literatures laid under tribute.

ARTICLES

TORREY, C. C. Notes on the Aramaic Part of Daniel. *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. XV, pp. 241-82.

This article has many valuable philological and interpretative hints. In addition the author maintains that chaps. 7-12 of Daniel belong to a different author from chaps. 1-6. The arguments urged are (1) the apocalyptic character of chaps. 7-12 as distinguished from chaps. 1-6 which are not at all apocalyptic; (2) a marked difference in literary style; (3) the absence of Persian words from chaps. 7-12; (4) chronological inconsistencies between the two parts; (5) the change from Hebrew to Aramaic; (6) the historical background which shows that chaps. 1-6 belong to the period from 245-225 B. C. while chaps. 7-12 belong to the Maccabean age.

NEW TESTAMENT

BOOKS

TYSON, STUART L. *The Teaching of Our Lord as to the Indissolubility of Marriage.* Sewanee: University Press, University of the South, 1909. Pp. 90. 75 cents.

Professor Tyson finds that Mark, Luke, and Paul represent Jesus as forbidding divorce on any ground, while Matthew describes him as permitting it in the case of adultery, with the right to remarry. This departure is due to the editor of the First Gospel who here as elsewhere exhibits a strong bias for the provisions of the Mosaic law.

BACON, B. W. *Commentary on the Epistle of Paul to the Galatians.* (Bible for Home and School.) New York: Macmillan, 1909. Pp. vii+135. 50 cents net.

Professor Bacon's compact introduction presents the view that Galatians was written to the churches of Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, and Pisidian Antioch, early in Paul's first visit to Corinth, or about 50 A. D. It is thus the earliest of Paul's extant epistles, preceding even the Thessalonians. The comment is sympathetic, intelligent, and stimulating.



Le Kolle

THE ARRIVAL OF THE SHEPHERDS

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Editorial

THE CHURCH AND MORAL BETTERMENT

POPULAR CRITICISM OF THE CHURCH

Some of our popular magazines have been doing good service of late by discussing the failure of the church. To point out the undoubted fact that the church is failing to realize its own ideals and to accomplish all that it ought to accomplish, and to seek the causes of this condition is a friendly and useful service. That it may be in the highest measure useful and effective, it is needful that there should be a clear notion of what the real task of the church is. In the absence of clearly defined thought on this point, discussion may prove comparatively profitless.

THE CHURCH IN RELATION TO OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE COMMUNITY

The church is not, like the monastic bodies of the Middle Ages, a community complete in itself and isolated from the remainder of the people, but a voluntary organization of a portion of the people for the achievement of a specific end. All the members of this voluntary community are also members of other social groups, most of them members of several such groups, the family, the state, the school, the business community, and various other organizations. But not all the members of these groups are in the church. It is confusing and mischievous, therefore, either to charge against the church all the failures of the entire community and all the defects of modern civilization, as if it were the whole community, or to put to the discredit of the church every good effort or achievement of any other group, as if the church and these other groups were mutually exclusive. The church is a failure, as a bank is a failure, only in so far as it fails to accomplish its particular task.

THE SPECIFIC FUNCTION OF THE CHURCH

What, then, is the function of the church? It is vain to expect unanimity on this point, but we venture to affirm that it is the peculiar task of the church in a democratic nation to present to men, and influence them practically to accept, the highest ideals of life. These ideals pertain both to the relation of men to God, and to their conduct toward one another. The principles which the church inculcates must enter into and pervade every phase of life; home, school, philanthropy, industry, commerce, politics. But it is not the office of the church to organize and conduct all these various expressions of human life, or even to solve all the problems which inevitably arise in connection with them. The task of the church is well performed if it instils into men's minds such ideals of human life and conduct as will healthfully regulate various types of activity in which men normally engage. The church may indeed engage in education and philanthropy; it may create homes for the homeless, and even in exceptional circumstances embark in business or take part in politics. It must in these and other ways give sufficient practical expression of its principles to make it clear what these principles really are, to create the habit of action in accordance with them, and to vindicate the sincerity of its devotion to them. But the full expression of the principles must of necessity be found elsewhere than in the church itself.

APPARENT FAILURE AND REAL SUCCESS

When, therefore, men point to the persistence of age-long evils of society, they are adducing valid evidence that the church has yet much to do before it shall have realized its ideal of bringing the whole community under the sway of the Christian principles of morality. In this sense the church has failed. It has not yet achieved success. But when men point to the great amount of good work that is done by other organizations than the church, by hospitals, orphan asylums, social settlements, bureaus of charity, municipal voters' leagues, park commissions, and to the spirit of justice and benevolence that is manifested in business enterprises, and when they make comparisons between the amount of money that is put into these enterprises and that which goes into the church, they are in fact pointing out the evidences not of the church's failure but of its success. The primary

business of the church is not to do all these things, but to furnish the ideals and the inspiration which find expression in the doing of them outside the church.

So also when men allege the bitterness and unseemly wrath that sometimes characterize controversies between different branches of the Christian church, or members of the same ecclesiastical body, they are advancing a valid criticism of the church. It is still in this matter only a partial success. It has not yet exorcised the demons of wrath, malice, and hatred. But when they point to the differences of theological belief that prevail within the church, the decline of loyal adherence to the creeds of the past, and the inroads which have been made on the long-established beliefs of the church by the scientific spirit and historical investigation, they are adducing not proofs of the failure of the church, but evidences that it has attained to a clearer sense than formerly of its proper function and to a correspondingly higher degree of success. Suppression of investigation, dictation of opinion, insistence on uniformity of belief—all these the church has at times undertaken, and in proportion as it has succeeded has failed in achieving its true purpose. The church must stand for certain fundamental convictions, without which it cannot accomplish its task of furnishing men ideals of life and inspiration for their achievement. It must moreover hold these convictions with enthusiasm, ready to live by them and if need be die for them. Indifferentism carries with it no inspiration, nerves no arm for battle, prepares no heart for strenuous effort or heroic sacrifice. But that the church is disposed to make its fundamental convictions few in number, and to present these in a spirit of peace and love rather than in that of controversy and bitterness is a sign, not of a decadent, but of a living and effective church. The church has not yet succeeded; it has much to accomplish within itself and in the world. But it has not failed, and many of the alleged evidences of its failure are in reality proof that it is alive and vigorous.

ORGANIZED VICE AND THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH

Yet when we have said all this and said it truly, have we after all made an adequate defense of the church? Must it not be confessed that the church is failing in the sense and to the extent that great evils

exist among us which would not exist if the church were fully meeting its duty and opportunity? Consider one feature of American political and moral life of the present hour to which no Christian man or woman from ocean to ocean can be indifferent. Not sensation-seekers but sober and competent investigators have proved beyond question that in the last few years there has grown up an organized partnership between corrupt politicians and the most degraded ministers of vice. The latter under the protection of the former have built up a great business in the systematic promotion of vice, corrupting multitudes of boys and young men, spreading loathsome disease among innocent wives, mothers, and children, and involving thousands of young women in a slavery compared with which the negro slavery of the South was Christian watch-care, and quick murder would be the height of mercy. We proudly boasted that our land should be the asylum for the oppressed, a beacon light of liberty for all nations. Through the door that we set wide open for this purpose there has swept in while we slept a tide of diabolic wickedness which is making our cities breeding-places of unspeakable corruption, death-traps for the unwary immigrants from all lands, disgracing our nation in the eyes of other nations and our religion in the eyes of followers of other faiths.

We cannot but be stirred by such a situation. Not to be moved to action as well as to feeling is to deny the name of Christ and to become, whatever our profession, in reality pagan. No scholarly study of our Sacred Scriptures, however devout, no mystic piety, however intense, can excuse us from taking cognizance of existing evils such as these and bestirring ourselves to correct them. A clear apprehension of the ethical ideals of our religion must be supplemented by intelligent attention to and forceful grappling with the new evils that have found their insidious way into our national life and are eating at the heart of it. It is these that constitute the real reproach of Christianity. Indifference to them is deadly sin. They do not, indeed, demand that the church in its capacity as a church shall institute legal measures for the eradication of them, but they do call upon Christian men and women acting through the most effective agency that can be devised to oppose them with all energy and re-establish decency and righteousness; and they call upon all who

believe in the church and care for its usefulness to consider whether it is producing men of purity of heart and life and of character and courage to conquer these great evils that disgrace our civilization and our religion.

THE NEED OF A REVIVAL OF RELIGION

But this sore evil is after all but one example of many that might be cited, old and new: the prevalence of gambling, the power of the drinking habit and of the saloon, the oppression of the poor, the corruption of public officials. There are great tasks to be achieved: the organization of effective agencies for the moral education of the youth, the creation throughout the church and the nation of the sense of responsibility for the welfare of other nations; these and others of like magnitude call for organized effort. It is the peculiar task of the church, by its inculcation of high moral ideals, by its cultivation of religion pure and undefiled, by its generation of the sense of responsibility for social conditions, to produce men and women who will give their lives to the great tasks that are awaiting accomplishment. Because there are all too few such, there is needed a great revival of religion within the church.

THE TYPE OF REVIVAL NEEDED

But what sort of a revival? One which will make men who read their Bibles and pray daily, who do not cheat in business or practice cruelty in the family, and who, having done these things, are content? Or is there needed rather a revival which will produce men who couple with a devout life of the soul a recognition of the fact that they are not only individual souls responsible to God but members of a great and ever-widening community, and that the great evils of the day are deeply intrenched in the very organization of society; men who perceive that the great tasks of the religious spirit are not for the individual but for men working in co-operation, and who with a zeal that is according to knowledge shall be ready to take their part in organized efforts for the extermination of evil and the achievement of good? Here is the real failure of the church: it is producing an individualistic type of piety; it is making, if not too many saints, at least too few warriors. The most hopeful fact in the life of the church today is the increasing recognition of this fact.

WHY I AM CONTENT TO BE A CHRISTIAN¹

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Notice the form in which the subject is stated. It is not, "Why I became a Christian," nor "Why I am a Christian," but "Why I am content to be a Christian." This form of words suggests that there are influences that might have persuaded me no longer to be a Christian, and which have indeed led me to consider whether I should still be a Christian. And this is in fact the case.

These influences have come from two sources. In the first place, within Christianity there has arisen a spirit of inquiry and investigation leading Christian scholars to ask, How did our religion come to be? When and under what impulse did our sacred books come to be? How did our faith in God first arise? Who founded the Christian church? What claim have this faith and this church to the allegiance of modern men? Not in mere curiosity have men asked these questions, but with the earnest desire to know the truth and with earnest purpose to abide by the results of their investigation whatever those results might be.

In the second place, from without Christianity there has come to Christian men a knowledge of other religions such as Christians formerly did not possess. Missionaries of Christianity, students of other religions, have brought to Christian nations accounts of other faiths and other religions that have won and held the allegiance of millions of people through centuries of history. And Christian men have asked themselves, What is the secret of the power of these religions? and, Is it certain after all that our religion alone is true or even the best among religions? And these questions, too, men have asked with earnestness and honesty, ready to accept the results of honest inquiry.

With the former class of questions it has been my duty to deal for many years, and I have tried to deal honestly and fearlessly with

¹ An address delivered before non-Christian audiences in various cities in India, Ceylon, China, Korea, and Japan.

them. Of the latter I have less knowledge; yet am not wholly ignorant of the results of study along these lines also. As a result of such study I am, as my subject itself implies, content, gladly, joyously, to be a Christian. Some of the reasons I propose to give you, speaking little of other religions, chiefly giving the reasons which lie within Christianity itself.

1. I am content to be a Christian because Christianity is a religion of intellectual liberty—a religion which making truth supreme leaves me free, requires me, indeed, to accept whatever is true. This character was stamped upon it by its founder, Jesus of Nazareth. He lived in an age and nation in which religion was enslaved to tradition. The supreme question of the teachers of religion was not, What is the truth? but, What did our fathers hold? What has been handed down to us by the elders? Jesus stood forth, not in the spirit of an iconoclast, to break with the past, to reject all things old, nor to reaffirm the position of the teachers of his day, but to ask simply, What is true? With keen insight into the world about him, with masterful power of discerning in the facts of history, past and current, the truths of religion and morals that abide, he calmly and confidently passed judgment on that religion and morality which his contemporaries accepted from the past, saying of its most fundamental elements that they were good and destined to abide, but of much else that it was not according to truth and had no claim on men's consciences or conduct.

In the footsteps of Jesus followed the apostle Paul. Having lived for years in the shackles of that legalism which had grown up out of the laws of the Old Testament he learned at length in an hour of sudden illumination, or as the sequel of that hour, that the past has no right simply as the past to stand against men's clearer vision of the true; and though never losing reverence for the past and never equaling in clearness of vision his Master Jesus, yet dared to stand forth and say that even the most sacred rites of the past should no longer be observed when they had become shackles on the souls of men hindering their spiritual life.

It must be confessed that the church has not always recognized its own birthright, still less conceded it to others. Men have bound upon themselves and others burdens that neither they nor their

fathers were able to bear. But the supremacy of truth has never been wholly lost sight of. Once and again the clear vision has returned; the débris of ages has been cleared away, and freedom regained. Pre-eminently in this generation has intellectual liberty been achieved—achieved, let us hope, never again to be lost.

Yet before I leave this phase of my subject, let me emphasize again that intellectual liberty does not mean scorn of the past. Nor does it mean a disposition to break with the past and begin to build wholly anew. What our fathers learned and handed down to us is infinitely precious. We cannot afford to diminish or scorn our inheritance. Sometimes an old building must be torn down, its very foundation removed, to make way for a new one. But this is not as a rule the way of progress in the intellectual life. With all due respect for the past, but with supreme regard for the truth, we accept that which approves itself as true. Then little by little the new modifies the old until at length we find that we have practically a new intellectual world. But all the time truth is supreme, and the man is free.

2. I am content, in the second place, to be a Christian because Christianity being a religion of intellectual liberty is able to appropriate to itself truth from whatever source it comes, and, what is even more difficult, leave behind its own out-lived elements.

In Jesus' day men observed fasts at stated periods and could quote for these not only tradition but law. But Jesus allowed his disciples to neglect them, and when challenged for a reason replied in effect that a regularly recurring fast met no real need of man, was indeed likely to be a falsehood. For it said in effect, I will be sad on such a day of such a month, yet on that very day one might have occasion of deepest joy. Asked why his disciples were not punctilious to keep the law of clean and unclean food, he answered, Not that which enters into a man defiles a man, but that which goeth forth from him defiles him. That is, not food that enters the stomach touches and makes a man's morals, but his thoughts, his words, his deeds—these produce character. And saying these things, in a few self-evident maxims, for the proof of which he appealed to men's own spiritual insight, he cut the ground from under whole pages of ancient law and great masses of tradition. Perceiving truth with a clearness not before achieved, he left the half-truth of the past behind.

Nor is this power denied to modern Christianity. Scarcely more than a generation ago Christianity was confronted with the rise of modern science threatening many of its cherished beliefs. Men rose in fervor to defend their religion against this new foe. But we have lived to know that it was not a foe, but a friend. We have indeed surrendered much to science and learned much from science; and especially have learned to know that whatever she may give or take away, true science cannot make us poorer. And today every intelligent Christian recognizes that Christianity is purer, stronger, more effective because of the coming of modern science, and fears no more what science can do; for, however scientific men may confuse truth and error, in the end true science can only bring us truth and thereby make us richer.

3. But I am content to be a Christian still more because Christianity is a religion of spiritual power. It maintains that fellowship of the human soul with God is possible, and vindicates that claim by a long line of men in whom faith in such fellowship has brought purity and power. True, fellowship with God is a mystery. But in what sphere of human experience will you not come upon mystery if only you press your way far enough? Has not psychology its mysteries? Has not biology its mysteries? Have not even chemistry and physics theirs? Is it strange that religion should have its mysteries also? Mystery does not necessarily signify truth, but neither does it of necessity spell unreality or illusion. Back of that which produces great results there must be a reality. And by what have mightier results been won in the world than by the faith that there is an eternal supreme Spirit with whom it is possible for the receptive soul to enter into fellowship? Only let me remind you that to Christian faith fellowship with God is not the losing of one's self in ineffective contemplation, but it is, in Kepler's phrase, to think God's thoughts after him, or better still, to think God's thoughts with him, and so to think them as to be stirred to act as God acts. Jesus sought the silence of the mountain top for fellowship with God, but he speedily returned to the valleys where men dwelt, there to work out the thoughts of God in deeds of good.

4. It is not then a contradiction of this that I have said, but its natural sequel, when I add that I am content to be a Christian because

Christianity sets before men a high ethical standard, and highest precisely in this that it demands that men shall care not supremely for their own welfare, even their own moral welfare, but shall seek their own good in the good of their fellows. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," and thy neighbor is thy fellow-man and to love him is to seek his welfare in all its phases and aspects. Jesus said, "The Son of man came not to be ministered unto but to minister and to give his life a ransom for many." Affirming this of himself he demanded it also of his disciples. He who seeks any good for himself alone, though it be holiness and heaven, has missed the spirit of Jesus and the central moral principle of his religion. He that saveth his life shall lose it. He only who loses it in the common good truly saves it.

5. Again I am content to be a Christian because Christianity is a religion of broad horizon. Every religion has its community. In Christianity the community is not the tribe, or the caste, or the nation, or even the race. Christianity, believing in fellowship with God, makes him the first member of its community, and then recognizing that he is the God of all men, and all men are one race, takes into its community all those to whom belongs the name of man. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy might, mind and strength, and thy neighbor as thyself." But not even here is the limit drawn. The birds of the air and the beasts of the earth are objects of the heavenly Father's care, and so also, as our fellow-creatures, of our consideration. For no sentient being can lie wholly beyond the horizon or consideration of him who has learned the spirit of Jesus.

Because of these two last-named characteristics Christianity has become the religion of social elevation and elevated civilization. Excluding no sentient being from its horizon, guiding itself by the principle of love to one's fellow-creatures, it has elevated womanhood, glorified childhood, created schools for every class and every age, built hospitals for the sick and asylums for the insane, formed societies for the promotion of every possible human good and the amelioration of every human ill, and for the prevention of cruelty to the lower animals. Because of these characteristics also it has become the great missionary religion of the world, not limiting

admission to it to those born under its influence, but opening its doors to men of every race and color and sending its messengers to every land under the sun. It is in part because Christianity is a missionary religion that I am content to be a Christian.

6. Finally, I am content to be a Christian because Christianity embodies its ideals in a person, who not only taught the truth but perfectly exemplified it in his life and is today the mightiest force for the uplifting of men and nations. Great is the power of a single sentence of truth flung forth into the world to find its way to the minds of men. Great is the power of a song to sing its message into the hearts of men. But far beyond the power of words, however skilfully framed, is the power of truth embodied in a life. How supreme then the power of a life which having before it the highest ideals perfectly embodies those ideals, calling for no explanation or apology but for unstinted admiration and approval. Such is the life of Jesus, and in that life the Christian sees the perfect ideal of human life, his challenge and his inspiration. But more than this, in Jesus the Christian sees also the supreme revelation of God. In the face of Jesus Christ he sees the light of the glory of God. He does not deny that there have been other revelations of God, in the stars above and the earth beneath. He does not deny that God has spoken through many a sage and poet and prophet. Rather does he glory in the fact that God hath left no age or nation without some token of his presence. I do not shrink from saying that in the face of my Christian father and mother I saw the first revelation of God, and I thank him for that blessed revelation. But above all prophets, priests, and poets, above all parents and teachers, in Jesus Christ we see the supreme revelation of God. And learning in him to know our God we follow him, in whose life we see the power of God, in whose face we see the light of the glory of God.

THE BAPTISMAL FORMULA OF MATT. 28:19, IN THE LIGHT OF JESUS' UNQUESTIONABLE TEACHING

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There is a court of last appeal before which the genuineness of the baptismal formula in Matt. 28:19 has not yet been brought. Mr. Conybeare showed in the *Hibbert Journal* for 1903, pp. 102-8, that there is important external evidence against the existence of this formula in manuscripts current before the time of Eusebius, and various recent writers have urged that the practice of baptism in Acts and the epistles of Paul is utterly incompatible with the view that Jesus commanded his disciples to baptize into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit (e. g., Martineau, *The Seat of Authority in Religion*, p. 515; Percy Gardner, *Exploratio Evangelica*, p. 445; Sabatier, *Religions of Authority and the Religion of the Spirit*, p. 52; Harnack, *History of Dogma*, I, 79, note); but although each of these lines of argument is forcible, and, to some minds, conclusive, there remains an argument which is, if possible, of even greater cogency.

Before proceeding to set forth this argument that lies imbedded in the gospels, let a word be said about the need of it. There are still not a few scholars who seek to defend the genuineness of the words in question, or, if not the very words themselves, at least their essential content, not to mention others who, like the author of the Kerr Lectures for 1901, do not appear to allow that the genuineness of the passage is for a moment debatable. It is accepted by them as unimpeachable.

Among those who defend the passage we may mention the late Professor Stevens, of Yale, who uses this strong language concerning the baptismal formula:

We may confidently say that, in its substance, it accords with the whole genius of our Lord's teaching and work, and well expresses what we may believe

to have been the hope and purpose of Jesus in associating his disciples together for the preservation and propagation of his truth and kingdom.¹

In general accord with this position is that of Dr. Allen in *The International Critical Commentary*, the volume on Matthew (1907). "The conclusion," he says, "that the formula as here recorded marks a developed and late stage of doctrinal belief and ecclesiastical practice is unjustified." After remarking that the phrase in question "may have stood in the lost ending of Mark," and that, "in any case, the conception, 'Father, Son, and Holy Spirit,' is clearly as old as the Christian society itself," he says:

Even if the editor of the First Gospel was the first to connect baptism into the threefold Name with a command of Jesus, he was probably only bringing that rite into connection with a circle of christological ideas and phrases which were current in the early Palestinian church, and which from Palestine had penetrated Christian teaching everywhere.

To the names of these two writers we may add that of Dr. Plummer whose view, though more conservative, is also more consistent. "It is reasonable to believe," he says, "that Christ prescribed the Trinitarian formula and that his command was obeyed." This view relieves us of the difficulty of trying to separate the "substance" of the baptismal formula from the words, assigning these to the editor of the gospel, that to Christ. "It is a violent hypothesis," says Dr. Plummer, "to suppose that words of such importance as Matt. 28:19 were never spoken by Christ, and yet were authoritatively attributed to him in the First Gospel" (see Hastings, *Bible Dictionary*, article "Baptism").

Now while it would be easy to pit against these three scholars another three who reject the genuineness of the baptismal formula, this would hardly conduce to a real settlement of the question. It will be more profitable to seek new light, and such, we think, is furnished by the life and words of Jesus. If he, when risen from the dead, "prescribed the Trinitarian formula" to his disciples, we shall find in the record of his life some facts or words or both which are in line with that command, just as each of the four other clauses of this farewell address in Matt. 28:18-20 is in line with some recorded word of Jesus. But if, instead of facts or words which are in line

¹ *Theology of the New Testament*, 1899, p. 148.

with that command, we find there facts and words which are directly opposed to the view that the command came from Jesus, then the case is closed. We cannot believe that the teaching of Jesus after his resurrection was at variance with that which he gave during his lifetime. There is very good reason indeed to doubt whether the appearance of the risen Lord was for any other purpose whatever than to convince the disciples of the truth of his messianic claim; but even if it were admitted that he may have resumed his teaching in those mysterious days between his resurrection and his ascension, it is impossible to hold that this posthumous instruction contravened the clear words which he spoke while present in the flesh.

We come back then to the main proposition, that the testimony of the life and words of Jesus is against the genuineness of the baptismal formula of Matt. 28:19. There are three broad features of the life and teaching of Jesus to be considered. First, there is his attitude toward religious rites, particularly the rite of baptism. It is obvious, in general, that, as we go back from the church life of the third or the second century, "the nearer we approach his person, the more do we leave every outward form and questionable claim behind, and are left alone with the pure elements of spiritual religion." But we cannot stop with this general statement. According to John (3:22—4:2) there was a period after the first Passover in which the disciples of Jesus baptized, of course with his approval. This baptism is set in parallelism with that of the forerunner, in whose immediate vicinity it was carried on. There is no suggestion that it differed from this, though if it had been of a higher order it would have been in harmony with the author's aim to have mentioned the fact. It was therefore merely a baptism of repentance in view of the coming of the kingdom. But with the return of Jesus into Galilee and his entrance on the mission which is described by the Synoptic Gospels, this preparatory baptism disappears. There is neither an allusion to it in these gospels, nor an allusion to any form of baptism. Even in the directions to the disciples on their going forth to teach, both those directions which contemplated a tour in Galilee while Jesus was alive, and those which looked forward to the times after his departure—directions which are blended in Matt., chap. 10 (cf. Luke 9:1-6, 10; 10:1-20)—there is not a word of baptism.

The bearing of this fact on the genuineness of the baptismal formula is clearly and strongly adverse. Jesus received men into discipleship without baptism, and never during his lifetime intimated that his followers should depart from his example. Therefore the baptismal formula of Matt. 28:19 is discredited by the unquestionable practice of Jesus.

Again, this alleged establishment by Jesus of an outward form of baptism is discredited by the spirituality of the conditions of membership which are found in his words. He offered his kingdom to anyone who would have it. This kingdom was, first and foremost, the reign of God in the heart, and the sole condition of receiving it was an open heart. Or, to state the matter in other words, the conditions of admission to the circle of the disciples of Jesus were repentance and obedience. If we were to base our view of Jesus' thought on his parable of the Lost Son, we should say that the one condition of membership in the divine kingdom was *returning* to the Father. So in all the words of Jesus regarding entrance into his kingdom we find only spiritual conditions. When he demanded of a certain young man that he should sell all he had and give to the poor, he was not setting up a new general condition of discipleship, but only applying a severe test in a particular case. No doubt the young man might have brought all his wealth into the kingdom if only Jesus had been sure that the kingdom was already in his heart.

Now, this fact that Jesus attached only spiritual conditions to membership in his kingdom is perfectly patent, and its bearing on the genuineness of the baptismal formula is clear. Spiritual conditions of membership and ceremonial conditions are diverse, heterogeneous, incompatible. To suppose that the Master who, throughout his ministry, had spoken only of spiritual conditions of membership in his kingdom, appeared to his disciples after his death and erected a ceremonial condition, is to suppose that death had radically changed and lowered his conceptions. But this is surely unthinkable.

Finally, the testimony of Jesus is against the genuineness of the baptismal formula because of the use which that formula makes of divine names. Two points should here be considered: First, it is contrary to the usage of Jesus to make a personal distinction between the Holy Spirit and the Father. His view of the Spirit, according to the

synoptists, was not different from that of the prophets. On the one or possibly two occasions during his lifetime when he referred to the Spirit, there is nothing to suggest that his view was unlike that of Joel or Ezekiel. The "Holy Spirit" (Mark 13:11; Luke 12:12) is the "Spirit of your Father" (Matt. 10:20); that is to say, it is "your Father" as a present spiritual power (see John 4:24). It will not be questioned by anyone that Jesus thought of God as a Spirit. When therefore he spoke of "the Spirit of your Father," he surely did not mean the Spirit *of* the Spirit who is God, but simply the spiritual presence of the Father. But this conception is radically unlike that of the baptismal formula where the Holy Spirit is as separate and distinct from the Father as is the Son. It belongs to an entirely different sphere of thought regarding the Divine Being. One cannot properly say that the conception of the Spirit in the baptismal formula is a *development* from the words of Jesus, for those words move within the lines of prophetic monotheism, while the baptismal formula, as all scholars agree, presupposes the doctrine of the Trinity.

The second point to be observed in the use of names in the baptismal formula is the position of the word "Son." It is obvious that the location of this word between "Father" and "Holy Spirit" is virtually a claim that the Son stands on the same level with them. The position takes him up, as it were, into the very center of the Deity. But to this claim the words of Jesus in our oldest sources stand opposed. Unique and divine as is their claim regarding the *character* of the Master—a claim as fully involved in his life as in his words—they not only never contain a claim like that of the baptismal formula, but in the clearest, most unambiguous terms assert what is diametrically opposed to the implication of that passage. They assert manhood, they deny attributes of Deity (e. g., omniscience and absolute goodness). Therefore it is impossible to hold that the Jesus of the Synoptic Gospels can have spoken the words of the baptismal formula unless the incident of death radically changed his self-consciousness.

Thus the argument found in the words and life of Jesus against the genuineness of the baptismal formula is a "threefold cord." The story of his life contains no trace of baptism in connection with

entrance into his kingdom; in the practice of his ministry the sole conditions of admission into his fellowship were spiritual; and finally, his view of the Holy Spirit, which was that of the prophets, and his own self-consciousness, on which the oldest sources leave us in no doubt, are clearly adverse to the conceptions on these subjects which are involved in the baptismal formula.



BETHLEHEM FROM THE LATIN CONVENT

THE COMPOSITION OF MATTHEW'S GOSPEL

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We can stimulate our power of observation by reading the Gospel according to Matthew as if it were a document wholly new to us. We may imagine the case of our having had hitherto all the rest of early Christian literature but not this precious record of the deeds and words of Jesus. From the other materials we should have constructed the view of Christian origins which prevails today. If now we were suddenly presented with the gospel in question, we should at once begin to determine its relations to other documents, to enumerate its special characteristics, and to find a place for it in the stages of development constructed by church historians from the other extant sources.

We may be sure that the very first inference made would be that it originated later than the year 70 A. D. The parable of the Marriage Feast in Matthew 22:2 ff. would at once be identified as an allegorizing redaction of the parable given in Luke 14:16 ff. In Luke it is a relatively simple story of a man who prepares a feast and sends out his servant to inform the expected guests that all is ready. Since the invited neighbors are indifferent and offer one excuse or another for absence, the host invites in their stead all the humble people who will come, the poor and crippled folk of the streets and of the country roads. In our new-found gospel we should observe that this simple illustrative tale is somewhat made over in order to relate it to a historic event. It has become the story of a king who sends out many servants in succession with summons for the marriage-feast of his royal son. The servants are abusively treated and killed by the persons invited; whereupon the king in wrath despatches his armies to destroy the murderers and burn their city. Then he, too, bids his servants gather in the random wayfarers. When moreover we hear further of an unworthy guest cast out into the outer darkness where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth, we are aware that the original

illustrative story has become an allegory. The feast is the banquet of the Messiah. The casting-out of the unfit man suggests the procedure of the Day of Judgment. The servants are easily understood as the messengers of the heavenly king. It is the Jewish people who reject the summons. It is the city of the Jews that is destroyed by fire and flames. Our inevitable inference is that the original story has been forced into an unnatural form in order to have it apply to the destruction of Jerusalem in the year 70. If we look then for other features that may strengthen this inference as to the date of the gospel, we may find one of uncertain value in the implication of 23:38, that Jerusalem now lies in ruin, forsaken by the heavenly king. We might discover others in the touches of 24:48 and 25:5, where the failure of the master or the bridegroom to come at the expected time may be further allegorizings indicating a generation when men have been forced to reflect on the delay of the Lord's advent beyond the predicted or expected time. These less secure indications would not enable us to measure the time that may have elapsed since the year 70. The emphasis on the destruction of Jerusalem, the obvious thrill of interest in that event, leads Harnack to infer that for the writer of the gospel the event is still recent. Jülicher objects that we have only the fact that the interest of this particular author singled out that conspicuous event as the meaning of a gospel story and that the allusions to persecutions under governors and kings should lead us to infer a date as late as the closing years of Domitian's reign, for then, as we otherwise know, Christians in many places began to feel the peril of their situation under the Roman government. This suggestion is far from convincing. The language of Matthew hardly exceeds the phrasing of Mark (as in Mark 13:9), and for Mark we are not asked to suppose any such late date of origin.

While we cannot with any confidence agree with Jülicher and Loisy on these grounds that the date is the very end of the first century, we proceed to other aspects of the gospel which carry an indication of a relatively advanced time of origin. Had we never before seen this gospel, we should never have had words of Jesus to warrant the view that he instituted or foresaw the Christian church. We should have understood that in all his utterances he was addressing

the religious community of Israel, and that he was seeking to arouse the Jewish people to the great issue imposed by the certain and speedy advent of the kingdom of God. Beyond that advent there could be no organization save that of the kingdom itself. And we should agree that after the death of Jesus his earliest followers were still members of the Jewish religious organism, and only slowly found themselves a separate body when their adhesion to Jesus as exalted to heavenly messianic authority began to differentiate them from their countrymen. We should remember that in Paul's time there was controversy over the degree in which separation from Israel was necessitated by the new religious good enjoyed by Christians, and we should probably agree that only when the original apostles were gone from the scene was the controversy forgotten. Only as they began to recede in memory was the consciousness of being a universal church on one harmonious basis of apostolic preaching fully and widely possible. The Book of Acts indicates that at the end of the first century such a Catholic consciousness was securely developed and that then the work of Peter in the creation of the universal church was viewed as of primary significance; that at such a time, furthermore, the disciplinary power exercised by presbyters or bishops was regarded as a continuation of the authority of the original apostles. Now in Matthew's gospel there are passages which, in contradistinction from Mark and Luke, contain this advanced and post-apostolic idea of the church. Although in 10:23 the author records a saying of Jesus which anticipates the advent before the evangelization of Israel shall be complete, we may believe that his own forecast is in accord with the impressive words with which his gospel ends. There we find the recognition of a Christian discipleship differentiated from Judaism, a church of all nations (28:19), and a church which has the promise of the continual presence of the risen Lord until the world's end. So also in 18:19 we see that the church is viewed as a community of those who pray to God in the name of Jesus, of those whose prayer is effectual through Jesus. This conception goes beyond the contents of Mark and Luke and seems to reflect an age when the Christian community has arrived at a consciousness of itself as constituted by the mediating work of the risen Lord. The associated idea, that when the disciples pray, Jesus is in their midst,

could only be intelligible for those who were accustomed to the sense of the presence of the risen Jesus in the holy assembly, a sense which must have developed through the long-standing usages of communion with him in ritual act. For the idea is not identical with Paul's conception of a personal union of individual believers with the glorified Pneuma-Christ. It is rather the idea of a relation of the worshipping community as such with its exalted Head, and the expression takes us into the atmosphere of thought which we find in post-Pauline literature like the Epistle to the Ephesians or the Johannine documents. That the author found at hand words of the Lord for the expression of this idea may be readily granted; but it may also be believed that some of these words were contributed to tradition by charismatic speakers in early churches, men who in hours of tense experience were regarded as speaking with the mind of the Lord. That the view in question could misappropriate actual words of the Galilean Jesus may be seen by a comparison of Matt. 18:15 with Luke 17:3. In Luke we have a saying of Jesus about the duty of the individual to forgive one who offends him personally. In Matthew the wording makes it the case of a man who, unknown to the church, sins against the holiness of the church. At this point, diverging from Luke's record, the evangelist ascribes to Jesus the disciplinary rules which have become established in Christian churches for just such a case: first a private remonstrance, and only when that fails of effect exposure of the delinquent to the church. We may infer that the church is supposed to discipline through the officers regarded as heirs of the paternal authority of the apostles, for immediately thereafter (18:18) such disciplinary power is conferred on the disciples collectively. It is of course possible that the entire listening company is supposed to be thus empowered, but it is more probable that the evangelist means the twelve apostles, in harmony with the post-apostolic idea that the disciplinary power of church governors was an inheritance from the first apostolic missionaries (Acts 14:23). This is the more likely in view of the famous passage in 16:18 where this church authority is specially conferred on Peter as representing the foundation of the visible church. Absent as this passage is from the record of Mark, who draws from Peter's own memory, it must reflect the

later consciousness of the church concerning Peter as the chief of the apostles, the principal witness of the resurrection, and highest in veneration among apostolic names.

These are not the only indications that the materials of the gospel tradition have been here enriched or shaped into conformity with the interests and points of view of a later day. From the outset the Christian company desired to show that the death and rising of Jesus were in fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy, and the habit of finding correspondence to prophecy would easily develop and provide an ampler interpretation of the career of Jesus. It is clear that in the composition of Matthew's gospel this has become a fixed method of presentation, and while this of itself cannot afford a precise indication of date it at least takes us into an age and a circle where a kind of literary construction has taken the place of the living memory of eye-witnesses and first hearers. An extreme instance is found in chap. 21 where the narrator makes Jesus enter Jerusalem on two animals because of someone's inaccurate understanding of Zech. 9:9. With this well-developed argumentative style of narration we may join a development of liturgical expression. Luke's version of the Lord's Prayer begins with the simple, direct invocation, "Father," and Paul's "Abba Father" seems to be reminiscent of such directness and simplicity. Here and often elsewhere Matthew uses an ampler liturgical style, "Our Father, who art in heaven." This may be reminiscent of the conventicle. Similarly Matthew represents Jesus as customarily saying, "My Father" or "My Heavenly Father;" hence from Matthew alone some have inferred that Jesus always emphasized his own privileged relationship to God and implied that the sonship of other men was a mediated one. A comparison with the other gospels shows that we have here a stylistic departure from the simpler early tradition. In Mark the only approach to this usage is the balance of the Son, the Father, in 13:32, but there the Sinai Syriac has "a man" in place of "the Son." In Luke the only cases are 2:49, the speech of the boy in the temple, not a part of apostolic memory, and 22:29, a saying which is one of the most doubtful in the gospel tradition. "My Heavenly Father" appears in Matt. 15:13; 16:17; 18:14, 19, 35. In all these cases there is nothing corresponding to the passage in

the other gospels. In 12:50 we are able to check by Mark and Luke; in 7:21 and 10:32 and 33 by Luke. In these instances Mark and Luke fail to support the phraseology. The expression, "My Father," appears in Matt. 25:34 and 26:53 where we have nothing in the other gospels with which to make comparison, and in five other passages Mark or Luke or both fail to support Matthew's wording. It is clearly a matter of Matthew's style.

This peculiarity may be more than a matter of taste and liturgical habit. It may be associated with the thought of one remaining instance, Matt. 11:27, which is to the effect that knowledge of the Heavenly Father is mediated by Jesus the Son. If we derive our understanding of the thought of Jesus from the main body of Matthew's materials, the words of 11:27 are an incongruous intrusion. Doubtless Jesus declared that his *παράδοσις* was from God and with absolute assurance summoned men to wear the gentle yoke which his teaching would impose. But shall he who from Israel's law quotes: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart," or from Hosea, "I desire mercy, not sacrifice," declare that knowledge of the God of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob is mediated by himself alone? Even if 27*a* is credible from Jesus the rest of the verse is incredible. From the presence of the words in similar connection though dissimilar form in Luke we infer that the gloss is of prior origin, but the form used in Matthew is intelligible only when read historically as reflecting the experience of pagan converts in the great mission field, converts who first obtained a revelation and sense of the true God through their discipleship to Jesus. For such converts this was a true form. It is consonant with such a voice from the mission field as speaks in I Clem. 36:2 and it is a thought which culminates and dominates in the Fourth Gospel.

The missionary extension of the faith in the Gentile world has given another characteristic to this gospel. Jewish propagandists, as we know, condensed the ethical demands of Judaism for Gentile proselytes into summary statements of simple ethics with a neglect of ceremonial prescriptions. Such a code of ethical precepts of Jewish origin has been adopted and adapted for Christian use in the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*. Pagan converts breaking with old customs and old standards must be provided with a set of Christian rules.

Something like this has been attempted by our evangelist, but with an effort to discriminate the rules of Jesus from the rules of rabbinical teaching. Such a procedure is dictated by the necessities of the mission field outside of Palestine. When the new propaganda was definitely recognized as separate and distinct from Judaism, it could not base its demands upon the precepts of the Old Testament, however venerated as religious authority that body of Scripture might be. Therefore in our gospel Jesus is viewed as performing the service of a second Moses, and, from a mountain analogous to Sinai, he promulgates a code of Christian law which is a revision, or reformation, of the old. Under the sway of this conception generations of men since that time have had recourse to this new code for rules to guide their conduct. Nevertheless a comparison of the utterances of Jesus as thus presented with the more scattered materials of Luke shows an artificiality of compilation. Indeed a closer reading of Matthew's own sermon shows that the sayings could not originally have been connected in any such systematic form and that the original intention was not to utter precepts and rules of a code of conduct. The materials resist the kind of construction which is given them. Apparently we have rules about fasting, prayer, almsgiving, but on examination we find that they were not rules but illustrations. By means of the cases of fasting, prayer, deeds of charity, Jesus was illustrating the danger of publicity and the need of safeguarding the singleness and purity of the motive. Therefore the wholly secondary form of law has been imposed on the original elements of tradition.

We have thus an accumulation of indications that the author of this gospel did not write with any personal memory of the original scene of the preaching of Jesus. He is editing and constructing or using previous editings and constructions of tradition, and his treatment is shaped by the life and experiences of circles of believers in the Mediterranean world in post-apostolic times. This is not the work of any Matthew who walked in Galilee with Jesus, but of one who in later days walked in the spiritual fellowship of the risen Lord.

It has been implied that the gospel derived much of its form from the conditions of the church outside of Palestine. Yet the author may have been of Jewish origin. If there were no other evidence we might rely on the peculiarities exhibited in Hawkins'

Horae Synopticae (pp. 132-35). It is surely on Jewish models of composition that the discourses of Jesus are given in five blocks, that there are seven beatitudes, seven petitions of prayer, seven parables, seven woes (chap. 23), three duties of alms, prayer, and fasting, three weightier matters of the law (23:23), three temptations, three prayers in Gethsemane, ten miracles grouped (cf. *Pirge Aboth* 5:5, 8). This indication of Jewish origin is strengthened by another observation. The author's use of Old Testament quotations shows that he commonly follows the text of the Greek Septuagint, but that in a considerable number of instances the wording shows a use of the Hebrew text. Burkitt offers the surmise that the evangelist was using a collection of Hebrew texts belonging to one of his sources, but Burkitt's supposition is that this collection served also as a source for Luke. But in fact all the quotations shared by Matthew with Luke are in agreement with the Septuagint Greek, and all but one of those which belong to Mark as well as Matthew. It is only in the quotations which belong to Matthew alone that the control of the Hebrew text appears. It is only, therefore, when we are unable to suppose common sources for the gospels, only when we have Matthew in independence that Hebrew knowledge is manifested.

Granting, then, that the author was a Jew by birth, it is nevertheless certain by the observations already made that he was not a partisan Jewish Christian. He lives in the consciousness of a church of all nations (28:18 f.). The Christian law is the Sermon on the Mount. He recast the story of the Marriage Feast in an anti-Jewish sense and in the parable of the Vineyard he emphasizes the point by adding a verse not found in Mark or Matthew: "The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof" (21:43). On the other hand the gospel contains some elements incongruous with this view. The author could doubtless reconcile with his attitude the bidding to do what the Pharisees teach (23:3), or the limitation of the mission field at the outset to Jews (10:5); but when the limitation extends to the advent (10:23) and the least detail of the law is forever valid (5:18 f.), a plain incongruity appears. The extreme indorsement of the letter of the law contradicts the attitude of the evangelist and of Jesus himself (15:11). The explanation can only be that in the last-

named instance, at least, a source of Jewish Christian party view has been embodied.

We are brought, then, to the question of the sources of the gospel. The time has passed when it was necessary to argue that Matthew as well as Luke has built upon the fundamental narrative of Mark. Mention has been made of the five more or less extended discourses given in Matthew, the Sermon on the Mount, the address to missionary disciples (chap. 10), the parabolic group (chap. 13), the discourse to disciples (chap. 18), and to the Pharisees (chap. 23). Remove these groups of materials and all the rest, with a few minor transpositions, follows the order and often to a striking degree the very text of Mark's narrative. There are indeed additional passages of discourse like the speech of the Baptist, or the Beelzebub discourse in chap. 12, but these simply amplify the narrative situation which is shared with Mark. It is the five more extended discourses which interrupt the Markan narrative, and when they are withdrawn Matthew's gospel is but a moderate amplification of Mark's. Thus again we are assured of an authorship later than the year 70 and of the absence of a personal memory of the deeds and words of Jesus. No companion of Jesus would have needed to depend thus upon a written record composed by one who himself knew things only by report. The manner in which the discourses are interjected into Mark's order of narration suggests that Matthew had at command a collection of sayings for which a relation to time and place was not always given. When therefore we discover that Luke also contains a large part of the same discourse material but has attempted a different relation of it to the same fundamental narrative, the suggested inference becomes a reasonable certainty. Matthew and Luke both used Mark as a basis, and both used a second source which was essentially a collection of sayings of the Lord without, or for the most part without, narrative setting. This theory of two main sources in common for Matthew and Luke is the established result of modern critical study of the synoptic problem. Not all that we read in Matthew can be referred to these two sources. The first two chapters, containing the genealogy of Joseph, the virgin birth of Jesus, the adoration of the Magi, the flight into Egypt and return to Nazareth are from a source or sources independent of the

others. The same account must be given of more than two score additional elements dispersed in the gospel after 12:5. In a few unimportant cases, as 21:14-16, it is suggested that the evangelist himself is decking out the narrative, since a source, written or oral, would have offered something less general, more concretely visualized. There is, however, little inducement to think of the author as inventing materials. He is a collector and editor. For these additional materials it is not necessary to suppose a single documentary source. The genealogy of Joseph may well have come from some written bit of Palestinian origin, while Peter's walking on the waves (14:28 f.), or the word to Peter in 16:17 f. may have been gathered from the oral deliverances of Christians who remembered and revered the great missionary. There being no evidence of a single source of definite character we are in all such cases obliged to study each passage by itself with detailed literary criticism. But the closer study of the relation of Matthew to his sources lies beyond the scope of our paper.



Raphael

THE SISTINE MADONNA

THE ORIGIN AND PURPOSE OF THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW

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Early Christianity has indicated its high regard for the Gospel of Matthew by placing it at the beginning of the New Testament. Reasons for this estimate are evident. The author was supposed to have been one of the Twelve, a distinction which neither Mark nor Luke could claim; a belief in the antiquity of the First Gospel also seems to have prevailed; and the character of its contents was an important item in its favor. The story of Jesus' life and teaching was here presented in a more convenient form for ordinary use than in any other gospel. A judicious selection of different types of material, Jesus' teaching arranged topically and distributed at regular intervals through the book, and the variety of subject-matter introduced made a treatise particularly well adapted to meet the various needs of the reader.

To illustrate, six main sections of Jesus' discourses may be noted: (1) The Sermon on the Mount (chaps. 5-7), setting forth Christianity's new law of righteousness in contrast with Jewish legalism, was a most pertinent topic for discussion in the primitive church. (2) Chap. 10 records at some length Jesus' instructions to the Twelve in preparation for missionary work. This chapter answered a real need when the church later began its own missionary activities. (3) The passage 13:1-53 contains a series of parables whose central theme is the "kingdom." This teaching helped believers to understand the nature of the present, growing, and invisible church. (4) Chap. 18, dealing with the disciples' personal relations to one another, contained instructions of great value for regulating life within the community. (5) Chap. 23 presents a list of woes which Jesus is said to have pronounced upon the scribes and Pharisees. When the Christian polemic against Judaism was keen, this chapter must have been of great worth. (6) Chaps. 24 and 25 recount at length Jesus' teaching about the approach-

ing catastrophic end of the world. At that time this teaching was especially important, since Jesus' literal return upon the clouds seemed to many to be the only hope for the world's salvation.

Matthew is not the only gospel to preserve these teachings, but no other gives them at such length or with the same attention to systematic arrangement. In Mark, for example, only a few isolated sayings from the Sermon on the Mount are found. While Luke has a "sermon" (6:20-49), it is much shorter, and some of the sayings found in the same discourse in Matthew stand in widely separated contexts in Luke. For convenience of use and comprehensiveness of treatment Matthew surpasses all the others. Luke is longer in actual quantity, yet Matthew narrates more incidents and preserves a better proportion among the parts. More than one-half the Third Gospel (beginning with 9:51, where Jesus is about to go up to Jerusalem to meet death) is given to the closing period of Jesus' life, but in the First Gospel about one-third of the material is assigned to this period. And several of the discourses, as the instructions to the Twelve and the woes against the scribes and Pharisees, are dismissed with a few verses in Mark and Luke but in Matthew they are made long enough to compare favorably with other discourse sections. This gospel was peculiarly fitted to meet the specific needs of the early church.

How did such a book originate? This question was asked as early as the middle of the second century A. D., but even then it could not be answered with certainty. The earliest testimony comes from Papias who about 140 A. D. wrote a treatise of five books expounding the "sayings" of Jesus. His work, now known only in quotations, is cited by Eusebius in the fourth century, as authority for the statement that "Matthew composed the sayings (of Jesus) in the Hebrew dialect and each one interpreted¹ them according to his ability" (Eusebius, *Hist.*, III, 39). Eusebius, without giving the authority for the opinion, also says: "Matthew, after preaching to Hebrews, when about to go also to others, committed to writing in his native tongue the gospel that bears his name, and so by his writing supplied to those

¹ Blass, *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 196, thinks different Greek translations are meant. But it is not certain that Papias was thinking of translation at all. Perhaps by "interpret" he meant "expound," and so was calling attention to the need of his own work on "exposition."

whom he was leaving the loss of his presence" (*Hist.*, III, 24). Clement of Alexandria, on the authority of the "Preaching of Peter," thinks the apostles did not leave Palestine until twelve years after Jesus' death, which would fix the date at about 42 A. D. (Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, VI, 5). According to these witnesses it would appear that the First Gospel was written originally in Hebrew (or Aramaic)² by the apostle Matthew before the year 42 A. D.

A comparison of Matthew with the other gospels shows that this general conclusion is untenable. As the gospel now stands it cannot have been originally written in Hebrew, nor can the date of its composition be placed so early, and the present work is probably not from the apostle Matthew. The evidence for all this is in the gospel itself. In many sections it is found to agree word for word with Mark, and the main outline of events is the same for both gospels. It used to be supposed that Mark was a late abbreviation of Matthew but this assumption is now generally rejected. Against it is the large amount of material in Matthew which has been entirely omitted in Mark, as the story of Jesus' infancy, the Sermon on the Mount, and several parables. These omissions might not be impossible if it could be shown that the writer of Mark uniformly inclined to abridgment, but a comparison of his narrative with that of the first evangelist shows that, when on common ground, it is the latter who abbreviated. This may be seen in such parallel accounts as the day's work at Capernaum (Mark 1:21-34; Matt. 8:14-17), the healing of the paralytic (Mark 2:1-12; Matt. 9:1-8), the account of the Baptist's death (Mark 6:14-29; Matt. 14:1-12), or the feeding of the multitude (Mark 6:30-46; Matt. 14:13-23). These furnish ample evidence of the secondary character of Matthew. The Greek Gospel of Mark was certainly one of its sources.

Nor can Matthew have been written as early as 42 A. D., since Mark was not then in existence. Papias gives no date for the writing of the Second Gospel but he refers it to Mark, the "interpreter" of Peter, writing to preserve what was remembered of Peter's preaching (Eusebius, *Hist.*, III, 39). Other traditions connect it with Rome

² Probably "Hebrew" is used loosely for Aramaic, the language of daily life. It is so in Josephus, *War*, VI, 2, 1, and the proper nouns in John 5:2; 19:13, 17, though called "Hebrew," show the Aramaic article in the ending.

soon after Peter's arrival there, or else after his death; all of which implies the development of gentile missions prior to the writing of Mark. The internal evidence of the book is even more decisive upon this point; for example, the numerous explanations of Jewish terms, places, and customs for the benefit of gentile readers (3:17; 5:41; 7:2 ff.; 7:34; 10:46; 12:42; 13:3; 14:2, 33; 15:42). The work seems to have been composed late in the sixties, or perhaps even after 70 A. D. So Matthew probably arose after 70 A. D. and cannot be the work referred to by Papias; thus the strongest link in the chain of tradition connecting our First Gospel with the apostle Matthew gives way.

There is, however, much material in Matthew not paralleled in Mark, in fact the latter supplied only about one-half the material of the First Gospel. Were there source-materials available for the non-Markan sections? The preface of Luke suggests the existence of a variety of documents: "Many have taken in hand to draw up a narrative concerning the matters which have been fulfilled among us even as they, who from the beginning were ministers and eyewitnesses of the word, delivered them unto us" (Luke 1:1 f.). Reference has already been made to Papias' mention of a collection of "sayings" (*λόγια*, *logia*), and since, as shown above, this cannot be identified with our Gospel of Matthew, it is often held to be the source from which the common non-Markan material of Matthew and Luke was drawn. Thus Mark and the *logia* are thought to be the chief if not the only literary sources used in the composition of the First Gospel.

But it is difficult to determine with certainty what was derived from this source. The content of the document is not known, though several attempts have been made to reconstruct it. Reconstruction is easy where Matthew and Luke agree verbally, but where they differ widely in phraseology, where they give parallel matter in different settings, or where each has material not found in any other gospel, the problem of the source becomes complicated. The *logia* must have had a very heterogeneous content if it supplied the writers of Matthew and Luke with all information not derived from Mark, and if it was a single orderly document their failure to follow it more accurately is difficult to explain.

Examining the problem more closely, there are seen to be three types of non-Markan material in Matthew: (1) sections which agree closely with parallels in Luke, (2) passages which have a free parallel in Luke, and (3) material not contained in any other gospel. The first class of passages may be illustrated as follows:

MATT. 11:4 f.

And Jesus answered and said unto them, Go and tell John what things ye hear and see: the blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, and the dead are raised up, and the poor have the gospel preached to them.

LUKE 7:22

And he answered and said unto them, Go and tell John what things ye have seen and heard: the blind receive their sight, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, the poor have the gospel preached to them.

Where language and thought are so nearly identical one gospel must have borrowed from the other, or each must have carefully copied a common document.

Against supposing that Matthew used Luke (or vice versa) are their numerous disagreements. They sometimes cover the same period with entirely different narratives, as in the accounts of Jesus' infancy; they often set parallel material in very different contexts, e. g., in Matthew the "sermon" stands at the very beginning of Jesus' Galilean ministry while according to Luke it follows a series of activities which supply a more natural occasion and motive; and they usually differ in their alterations of, or additions to, the common source, Mark. It is true that in a few instances they agree against Mark, e. g., (*italicizing the agreements*),

MATT. 26:67 f.

Then did they
spit in his face

and buffet him

and some smote him
saying
Prophecy unto us
thou Christ
who is he
that struck thee

MARK 14:65

And some began
to spit on him
and to cover his face
and to buffet him

and to say unto him
Prophecy

and the officers re-
ceived him with blows

LUKE 22:63 f.

And the men
that held him
mocked him
and beat him
and they blindfolded him

and asked him *saying*
Prophecy

who is he
that struck thee

This verbal identity of Matthew and Luke, in diverging from Mark, might at first sight seem to imply a direct dependence of one upon the other, but the independent divergences from Mark in this same section are against the supposition. These are much more prominent than the agreements, and render the theory of interdependence very improbable.³ Grounds for assuming a direct literary relationship between Matthew and Luke, whether in Markan or in non-Markan sections, are indeed scanty. Some source other than Luke must be looked for for the non-Markan source-material of Matthew.

What was found in this source, and how was it used? It is noticeable that the passages in Matthew which are closely paralleled in Luke do not stand in any particular part of the First Gospel, but are distributed throughout the non-Markan sections. A few representative instances are the account of the Baptist's preaching (Matt. 3:7-10; Luke 3:7-9), Jesus' temptation (Matt. 4:1-11; Luke 4:1-12), several paragraphs in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5:25 f.; 6:9-13; 6:19-21; 6:22 f.; 6:24; 7:3-5; 7:7-11; 7:24-27 compared, respectively, with Luke 12:57-59; 11:2-4; 12:33 f.; 11:34-36; 16:13; 6:41 f.; 11:9-13; 6:48 f.), the poverty of the Son of Man (Matt. 8:19-22; Luke 9:57-60), Jesus' discourse concerning John the Baptist (Matt. 11:2-19; Luke 7:18-35), woes upon the Galilean cities (Matt. 11:21-23*a*; Luke 10:13-15), request for a sign (Matt. 12:39-45; Luke 11:24-32), the widow's mites (Matt. 12:41-44; Luke 21:1-4), the blessedness of the disciples (Matt. 13:16 f.; Luke 10:23 f.), God's interest in man's salvation (Matt. 18:12-14; Luke 15:4-7), lament over Jerusalem (Matt. 23:37-39; Luke 13:34 f.), the faithful and unfaithful servants (Matt. 24:45-51; Luke 12:42-46). It would seem that this source-material was fairly comprehensive in its scope.

An examination of the above references also shows that Matthew and Luke do not preserve any common fixed order in the arrangement

³ Other explanations are offered. The form of Mark used by Matthew and Luke has been thought to be earlier (an *Urmarcus*) than ours, and so the source of the agreements in Matthew and Luke. But the disagreements of Matthew and Luke count against this theory. Perhaps it is safer to suppose the agreements to be partly accidental, partly due to independent intentional changes made for a like reason by each evangelist, and partly the result of early scribal tendencies to make the gospels agree verbally in similar passages. As Matthew and Luke were more used than Mark, this last influence sometimes affected them and left Mark unchanged.

of this material. On the other hand, an alteration of the sequence of sections when Mark is being used is comparatively infrequent;⁴ so since the non-Markan source is thus variously distributed in Matthew and in Luke, perhaps it had not the same fixity of form as Mark. In fact one might doubt whether it came into the evangelists' hands as a single document. A plurality of documents is suggested by Luke 1:2 f., and each evangelist's method of handling the material fits this supposition. The other alternative is either to regard the source as a very comprehensive document from which each gospel-writer selected only a portion, or to regard it as a brief collection of loosely connected traditions which each writer freely rearranged and supplemented. Most scholars think that the principal document—and many hold that there was only one—answers to the *logia* of Papias.⁵

⁴ Changes in Mark's order occur occasionally in Luke, as when the visit of Jesus' relatives (Luke 8:19-21; Mark 3:31-35) is placed after instead of before the group of Markan parables. Mention of the Baptist's imprisonment is made in Luke at the close of the account of his preaching (Luke 3:19 f.) instead of later as in Mark 6:17 ff., and there is some variation in the paragraphing in the Lukan narrative of the supper and the trial. The writer of Matthew has also taken some liberty to suit his scheme of grouping like materials, thus the cursing of the fig tree (Mark 11:12-14) and the conversation about the withered fig tree (Mark 11:20-25) have been placed together (Matt. 20:18-22). Virtually only three other changes have been made in Matthew, that is, three groups of material have been differently located, but within each group the sequence of Mark has usually been preserved. A group of eight incidents (8:1-4, 14-17; 9:1-8, 9-13, 14-17; 12:1-8, 9-14, 15-21) is placed too late as compared with Mark, having been pushed down in the scheme because the sermon was introduced too early. With one exception (8:1-4, which is made the first miracle in Capernaum, since the first miracle of Mark has been condensed with Mark 5:1-20) the order of Mark is preserved within the entire group. A second group (8:23-34; 9:18-26; 9:35-11:1) is placed earlier than in Mark, though keeping again within the group the Markan order. Lastly, a single incident (8:19-22) is placed earlier than in Mark. Thus the changes in Matthew are confined to chapters 8-12, where a series of Markan incidents has been grouped, following the grouping of teachings in the Sermon on the Mount, but without any remarkable deviation from the original order of the individual incidents.

⁵ The so-called "two-document" hypothesis, which regards Mark and the *logia* as the principal sources of the Synoptic Gospels was worked out in its essential features as early as 1838 by Weisse (*Die evangelische Geschichte*) and Wilke (*Der Urevangelist*), but it did not win any general acceptance until the appearance of H. Holtzmann's *Synoptische Evangelien* in 1863. With slightly varying details it was advocated by Weizsäcker in 1864 and B. Weiss in 1872, and since then it has been the dominant theory especially in Germany. But the non-Markan source is still much discussed. It is now commonly referred to as Q (*Quelle*) rather than *logia* ("sayings") in order to avoid prejudging its content, about which there is still much uncertainty. Burton (*Principles of Literary Criticism*, 1904) assigns the material to three documents: (1)

There are yet other sections of Matthew where the resemblance to Mark or to Luke is too remote to suggest a common source (e.g., Matthew's nativity narrative as compared with that of Luke), and still other passages for which no parallels exist. How did these originate? It should be remembered that the first evangelist was capable of independent work as an editor and author. His alterations of, and supplements to, both the Markan and the non-Markan parallels have made this fact evident. When it suited his purpose he copied Mark verbatim, while at other times he changed the language or made additions freely. Probably the other source or sources were treated similarly, and possibly many sections peculiar to Matthew are largely independent compositions, though of course they may often be based upon such floating traditions as could be picked up at the time. It may also be true that the author of Matthew made larger use than the third evangelist did of some of their common material, nor is the existence of independent written sources out of the question.⁶

Thus it appears that the chief elements in the formation of the First Gospel are: (1) Mark in essentially its present form, which supplied much of the content and practically the whole narrative framework of Matthew; (2) another source, copied copiously in Luke as well as in Matthew yet freely adapted to the needs of each writer. At present it is not certain whether all this material circulated in a single document, or whether it was found in two or more documents; (3) other materials, some of which may have been derived from written sources and some from floating traditions; (4) the contribution of the writer who, as author and editor, so presented his materials as to make them meet the specific needs of his own day.

the *logia* of Papias, (2) an account of the Perean ministry, and (3) a Galilean source, while other minor sources supplied the material peculiar to Matthew or to Luke. Harnack (*Sayings of Jesus*, 1908) prefers the theory of a single document, brief in compass. He would grant that some matter found only in Matthew or Luke may have been derived from Q, yet this cannot be said with certainty of any passage "except the parable of the mustard seed" (p. 185). B. Weiss, *Die Quellen der synoptischen Ueberlieferung*, 1908), as on former occasions, contends for a more comprehensive content for Q.

⁶ About one-fifth of the First Gospel is not paralleled in Mark or Luke, and consists of both narratives and discourses. Burton traces much of this material to the *logia* of Papias, a document which, it is thought, was used by the first evangelist only.

This last consideration suggests that the author's purpose was an important factor in his work. The meaning of many passages, as well as the significance of the book as a whole, cannot be grasped if the distinctive interest which guided the author is overlooked; nor can the origin of the book be fully understood apart from the end it was meant to serve. Probably no gospel-writer aimed to be a mere chronicler; he also sought to edify. In Luke 1:4 and John 20:31 this aim is explicitly stated, but the readers of Mark and Matthew would easily recognize a similar intention on the part of these writers. In Matthew this purpose is shown in the selection and arrangement of material, particularly in traits peculiar to this gospel. For example, the subject-matter is arranged topically thus showing a desire to supply a handbook for use in the community, the interests of the church as an organization sometimes stand out prominently, much stress falls upon the opposition to Judaism, and certain Christian doctrines are much emphasized. In general the purpose is argumentative and apologetic, with special reference to the interests of the Jewish Christian church. Harnack tersely states it thus: "The Gospel of Matthew was written as an apology against the objections and calumnies of the Jews, which were soon also adopted by the gentiles. This evangelist alone has a distinct interest in Jesus' teaching as such; he instructs, he proves, and all the while he keeps the church well in the foreground" (*Luke the Physician*, p. 167).

Fundamental to the general aim of a gospel-writer is the historical situation which determined his purpose, and which must be understood in order to appreciate the real aim of his work. In all probability all the evangelists were actuated by a desire to meet certain historical exigencies, and so wrote with a practical interest uppermost, therefore an author's purpose should be examined in the light of current events. When thus studied, many features of Matthew come to stand out more clearly, the writer's problems are seen to be forced upon him by circumstances, and while they were not necessarily new they were still living issues. Some of the outstanding events in early Christian history, as they influenced the composition of the First Gospel, may be briefly sketched:

1. The new community early developed an organic life of its own for which it needed rites, ceremonies, and rules, as the custom had

been in Judaism. No other evangelist felt this demand quite so keenly, or took such pains to meet it, as did the writer of Matthew. He alone refers to the community as a "church," the agency by which the work of Jesus is to be carried to completion (16:18) and the ultimate authority in matters of discipline (18:17). He collects Jesus' teachings into a new law for the guidance of conduct (chaps. 5-7), he gives the typical prayer in its most elaborate form (6:9-13; cf. Luke 11:2-4), and he alone records the Trinitarian baptismal formula (28:19).

2. Soon the new community encountered opposition, first from Jews and later from gentiles. The first evangelist took a strong stand against the Jews, but purely on the ground of their hostility to Christianity—his own point of view seems to have been that of the Jewish Christian. He greatly multiplies the number of Jesus' woes against the religious leaders in Judaism (chap. 23), whom he calls hypocrites (occurring 13 times in Matthew and rarely elsewhere) and workers of "lawlessness" (7:23; 13:41; 23:28); and the point of certain parables peculiar to this gospel is the exclusion of the Jews (21:33-46; 22:7, 11-14; 23:36, 38; 24:2).

3. The occasion called for special stress upon certain doctrines of Christianity. The writer gives much attention to these and shows himself skilful in refuting current criticisms and in formulating positive arguments. He answers some criticisms of the resurrection faith by adding to Mark the account of the sealing of the tomb and the guard at the sepulcher (27:62-66; 28:11-15; cf. Justin, *Dialog.* 17, 108). One of his greatest contributions is his elaboration of the argument from prophecy, in which he surpasses all the other evangelists. His intention from the very beginning of his book is to show that recent happenings have come to pass "that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Lord through the prophet" (1:22; 2:15, 17, 23; 4:14; 8:17; 12:17; 13:14, 35; 21:4; 27:9; cf. 5:18). Above all, Jesus is the Messiah in whom all messianic prophecies have come to fulfilment.

4. In contrast with Jewish rejection, the evangelist aims to show that Christians are the true Israel. Their new law supersedes and transcends the Mosaic commands (5:21-48; 9:14-17; 15:10-20; 19:8); the Jews had forfeited their right to divine favor by rejecting

Jesus whose efforts had been almost exclusively directed toward them (10:5 f.; 15:24; cf. 10:23; 19:28), and whose work had perfected the true Judaism (5:17-20; 23:23^b; 24:20). Jesus himself had warned them against the sin of refusal (8:11 f.; 12:38-45) and had plainly declared its result in God's rejection of the nation (21:33-46, etc.).

5. Another historical circumstance, which balanced the idea of the Jews' rejection, was the fact of gentile missions. In view of this work the writer aims to show the universal element in the new faith. Jesus' work was primarily and almost exclusively for Jews, yet their rejection of him was anticipated and the way was prepared for the worldwide missionary activity that had become a reality in the writer's own day. Thus side by side with the particularistic elements (as in 10:5 f., 23; 15:24; 19:28) go also universal ideas: many shall come from the east and the west (8:11 f.), the gospel story is to be told throughout the world (24:14; 26:13), and all nations are to be disciplined (28:19; see also 21:28-22:16).

6. The political situation in Palestine also strongly influenced primitive Christianity. Those were trying days for both Christian and non-Christian Jews. The former belonged to the Quietist party and brought no little reproach upon themselves because they retired across the Jordan to Pella when they saw that the fall of Jerusalem was inevitable. The reader of our First Gospel would find much here to meet his needs during the days of trouble which followed. He would be reminded that Jesus had championed the doctrine of non-resistance, had told his disciples of the gentile persecutor whom they were not to fear, and had promised a supernatural consummation of the kingdom—a hope sufficient to carry the believer safely through all distressing circumstances. Thus an elaborate apocalyptic programme for the future was presented in order to offset any tendency on the part of Jewish Christians to lose courage because of the fall of the "Holy City," or because of other reverses in those perplexing times.

How far the purpose, or purposes, which actuated our first evangelist immediately affected the composition of the gospel, it is difficult to say. No doubt much of his material was ready at hand, but it is not impossible that he was personally responsible for the composition of more than is usually imagined. Take, for instance, his interest

in showing how Old Testament scripture had come to fulfilment in Christian times. This led to a deliberate change in the Markan narrative of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem where two animals are introduced instead of one, so as to make the quotation of Zech. 9:9 appropriate (Matt. 21:1-7). The writer's interest in Old Testament types may have stimulated him to further literary activity on his own account though the immediate proof of this may not now be available. It may have been a similar motive that led him to make Bethlehem the birth-place of Jesus (1:5 f.), to mention a flight into Egypt (1:15), or to tell of Herod's slaughter of the children (1:17 f.). However this may be, a true interpretation of the gospel is impossible without a sympathetic understanding of the author's purpose; and doubtless the origin of the book owes much to his creative genius guided by the specific interests which the circumstances of his day forced upon him.



Correggio

THE HOLY NIGHT

ANCIENT JEWISH VIEWS OF THE MESSIAH

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II

There were within the party of the Pharisees, besides the devotees of the Law, those quietists who had neither the inclination nor the time for the technical study of theology, but who in their conduct aimed at a heart-felt obedience to God's will, and in their devotion sought a more intimate fellowship with God than the scribal type of piety provided. They could not be satisfied with a God so far removed from the world as was the Jehovah of the Pharisees; they yearned to see him, they hungered and thirsted after his righteousness. Their religion was apocalyptic, not legal. Their divergences from the scribes were more a matter of emphasis than of differing doctrines. While they would have assented to the propositions contained in the above statement, they would at the same time have been inclined to dwell upon the supernatural, mystical elements of the Pharisaic hope. Indeed they did not care to have a hope that was too definite. They preferred not to know the programme of the kingdom. The following points will indicate to us the differences between their views and those of their more learned compatriots.

1. With the quietist it was a fundamental principle that all things occurred by the will of God. Thus the overthrow of Israel, the siege and capture of the walls of Jerusalem, the defilement of the daughters of Jerusalem, the insane delusion of the rulers as of men who were drunk with wine, the laying-waste of the throne of David, and the scattering of the tribes to the confines of earth, were not only permitted by God, but even ordained for the discipline (*παιδεία*)¹ of the people. Thus God was forever justified and the righteous would await his manifestation with patience.

2. The advent of the Messiah and the deliverance he was to effect depended wholly upon God. "Behold, O Lord, and raise up unto

¹ Ps. Sol. 18:4; 2:24.

them their king, the Son of David, in the time which thou, O God, knowest, that he may reign over Israel thy servant; and guide him with strength that he may break in pieces them that rule unjustly.”²

3. The Messiah would not contend with earthly weapons; he would not put his trust in horse or rider or bow, nor would he multiply unto himself gold and silver for war, nor by ships would he gather confidence for the day of battle; he would not lift up his hand nor use a spear, nor any vessel of war, but he would send forth as it were a flash of fire from his mouth and consume his adversaries. And this power, according to the author of the magnificent seventeenth Psalm of Solomon, dwelt in his holiness, which became a more than efficient substitute for all material might.

For he shall smite the earth with the word of his mouth even for evermore.

He shall bless the people of the Lord with wisdom and gladness.

He himself also is pure from sin, so that he may rule a mighty people, and rebuke princes and overthrow sinners by the might of his word.

And he shall not faint all his days, because he leaneth upon his God; for God shall cause him to be mighty in his spirit of holiness, and wise through the counsel of understanding, with might and righteousness.

And the blessing of the Lord is with him in might, and his hope in the Lord shall not faint.

And who can stand against him? he is mighty in his works and strong in the fear of God.

According to IV Ezra the might of the Messiah was in the fire of the divine law, by means of which he would overthrow his adversaries. In those parts of the Apocalypse of Baruch which are of later date, we have a much more vigorous Messiah, who smites and slays, but has this in common with the Messiah of the earlier sections of the same book that he acts alone.

4. While he executes judgment upon his enemies, and especially upon the kings who have oppressed the poor of his people, this judgment will be largely in the nature of a nemesis of justice that will overtake the guilty ones.

-5. His kingdom would embrace Jews only. The quietist of the land had no place in his system for an ingathering of the gentiles in equal privilege with the elect. Abraham and his sons had been

² *Ibid.*, 17:23, 24.

called of God to be a peculiar people, and a peculiar people to the end they must remain.

Over against the quietists there stood in sharpest opposition the Zealots, who in the time of Christ were scarcely yet to be reckoned outside the ranks of the Pharisees, but who in the next generation became the vehement opponents of the peace party of the Pharisees within the beleaguered city of Jerusalem. With them lies the responsibility for the destruction of the temple, the scattering of the remnant of the nation, and the dissolution of all immediate hopes. That they were already active in the time of Christ is shown by the words in which he foretells the inevitable outcome of their seditious conduct.

The fundamental doctrine of the Zealot messianism was that Jehovah himself was King, and this conviction was sustained by a multitude of Old Testament passages, messianically interpreted, in which the advent of the kingdom was involved in the personal coming of Jehovah.

But the historical event which, more than any other, caused the Old Testament passages to flourish and bear fruit was the defection of John Hyrcanus, who taught many godly Israelites that it is better to trust in Jehovah than to put confidence in princes. And indeed from this time onward we have many indications of an expectation of a kingdom without an earthly king. In the sections of the Book of Enoch which include chaps. 1-36 and 91-104, there is no Messiah. Jehovah himself is Judge and Avenger. But if it be averred in opposition to the interpretation here given that these passages from the Book of Enoch refer not to national aspirations but to the passing of the world-order and the inauguration of the eternal order, we would reply that the common man did not always distinguish between present things and last things. Certainly the Zealot drew from these eschatological books the materials for a present programme.

In the minds of the Zealots if Jehovah were King there could be no place for a Roman ruler. Away with Rome! Destroy its godless power over Israel! Let Jehovah's rule be seen! Let the law hold sway! It was intolerable that the sons of Abraham, members of the chosen race, should be in bondage to any heathen power. Thus those nationalistic ideas, which all the people recognized as having a legitimate place in the messianic hope, were by the Zealots elevated

to the place of supreme importance. The one immediate task was to destroy Rome. And the chief difference of opinion between them and the masses of the people was that they would not wait for Jehovah to act, but were confident that if they should at once undertake a work so completely in harmony with the divine purpose their God himself would be bound to see it to a prosperous issue. Even in the utter extremity of the desperate resistance maintained by the besieged Jews against the enraged Romans, the former still looked for some awful, portentous manifestation of the divine might which would destroy the besiegers and give the victory to the army of their God.

We now turn to the Essenes, who in many respects were the anti thesis of the Sadducees. They hated court life and loved the wilderness; they carried their abhorrence of the city to such a length that they would not even visit Jerusalem at the times of the great feasts. Nevertheless they paid their temple dues. Their peculiar practices and doctrines lie outside of the scope of this article except as they are directly connected with their messianic views. But it is evident that their conception of the Christ was determined by their whole view of life. In the present connection the following points cover all that is of first importance:

1. The Essenes, originating in the later Maccabaeon period, in an opposition to the hellenizing tendencies of the court party, present an exaggerated and one-sided development of the Levitical law of purification, and are thus a legitimate Jewish sect.

2. Their striving after ceremonial cleanliness made them especially susceptible to the influence of Persian asceticism, and led them to accept the doctrine of an essential opposition between matter and spirit and to accommodate their practices to those of eastern sects of devotees.

3. Their asceticism included the denial of the validity of animal sacrifices and the substitution of sacrifices of their own. Whatever the latter may be, they involve an opposition to the shedding of blood, and, by implication, to the whole Levitical priesthood and ritual.

4. In consequence of their doctrine of purification they held themselves rigidly aloof from all persons who did not partake of their

own righteousness. They became the most exclusive of Jewish sects. Entrance to their membership was hedged about with a twofold probation, and the highest rank was open only to those who had passed middle life and given proofs of being able to preserve the Holy Name in perfect purity.

5. As a result of their separateness from the world and the defilement that is in the world, they hoped to attain a special divine revelation. Their religion was mystical, apocalyptic, and esoteric.

The natural issue of such a religion was that its worshipers moved about in a world of dreams and visions. They had no interest in the political movements of the age in which they lived. They passed frugal, laborious lives in the wilderness; and far from the crowded hives of humanity, their lusts and shames, they fed their own pale fires of devotion in the fellowship of worship of a mystic God.

Their mysticism appealed to Philo, as did many other characteristics not referred to here. But it is significant that neither in Philo nor in the Essenes did the contemplative religion produce any yearning for a kingdom of God in this world, or for the advent of a Messiah who would embody the ideal of the theocracy in visible presence among men.

Lightfoot, at the close of his article upon the Essenes, tells us that they could not have a messianic hope because they did not believe in the resurrection of the body. But this statement cannot longer be accepted by us; because, in the first place, Hippolytus in a passage which, when examined in the light of the corresponding passage in Josephus, is seen evidently to contain an early and trustworthy tradition, tells us that they did believe in the resurrection of the body. And, in the second place, the messianic idea was not primarily eschatological at all, but national; and it was only when the expectation of an actual, national kingdom failed that the idea took on an eschatological character. In the case of the Essenes, as it was earlier with Plato and later with Augustine, the failure of hope in the earthly visible state led to a yearning for, which easily became an expectation of, a kingdom of God, eternal in the heavens. The Essenes possessed all the Jewish doctrine necessary to a messianic hope. They believed in the immortality of the soul and the reality of the life to come. And even their withdrawal from political affairs did not at first imply that

they lacked interest in the welfare of the state, but simply that they despaired of realizing the kingdom of God under the existing forms of political activity. For them the kingdom was nothing that could be established through political or ecclesiastical institutions. It must be revealed from God out of heaven. It must come in a catastrophe in which all lower instrumentalities would be paralyzed. God himself would establish righteousness. And here we have reached ground that is identical with that occupied by the quietist Pharisee.

But in another aspect the Essenes and Pharisees of every phase stood far apart. The former would exclude from their view everything of a priestly nature. A sect opposed to the sacrifice of blood could not hold to a priestly Messiah. The apocalyptic, or as they conceived it, the prophetic element, would necessarily be given the prominence.

The foregoing statement of the various conflicting Jewish views has already made clear to us in part the divergent view of the Master. In his messianic consciousness there is apparently no single element that cannot be paralleled somewhere in Jewish literature. But he is most independent in his use of existing materials. He lays a new emphasis and gives a new proportion to all that he touches. And as we look more closely we perceive that the conception of the Suffering Servant of Jehovah, which was almost wholly ignored by his contemporaries, became the central and formative fact of his spiritual development. The stone which the builders rejected became the head-stone of the corner.

THE JESUS OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL

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In a recent number of the *Biblical World* I called attention to individual utterances put in the mouth of Jesus by the author of the Fourth Gospel which seem to be reminiscent of certain sayings of his found in the Synoptic Gospels. The fact that there are very few such utterances was made evident; and the conclusion was reached that the Fourth Gospel cannot be depended on as an authority in an attempt to set forth the thought of Jesus as a teacher. There is another side of the Jesus who is presented to us in this Alexandrian gospel that needs more attention than it has received, the side that has to do with his conception of his own person and mission, especially the latter, although it is very difficult to separate the two. Scholars have often noted the fact that the author of this gospel represents Jesus as alluding to himself in words that are in striking harmony with his conception of him as a supernatural personage, the Divine Logos; but they have not sufficiently set forth the fact that the author's Jesus is wanting in pity for the poor and compassion for the sick and the maimed, that in short he is far removed from anything that may be characterized as humanitarian.

The Jesus of the Synoptic Gospels is nothing if he is not humanitarian in his sympathies and in his everyday ministries. How often we read of him that he was moved with compassion (ἐσπλαγχνίσθη)! Now it is the widow of Nain, the body of whose only son is being borne to the burial (Luke 7:13); again it is the blind men by the wayside near Jericho (Matt. 20:34); yet again it is the famished multitude (Matt. 15:32). The maimed and the sick seem to have specially stirred the fountains of his pity (Matt. 14:14). But he was also moved because the common people, the masses, as we would say, were woefully wanting in leadership, because they were like unshepherded sheep (Matt. 9:36; cf. Mark 6:34). So largely was Jesus' ministry one of alleviation or of cure of the physically broken that we

read frequently of such unfortunates finding their way to him or being brought to him in large numbers (Matt. 4:24; Mark 6:55). Every allowance may be made for the growth of legends having to do with stories of Jesus' wonderful cures; nevertheless it must be admitted that he seems to have been one who, according to the earlier gospel narratives, was most deeply moved in the presence of those suffering from physical maladies. Nor did he, according to the Synoptic Gospels, ignore the poor, for he is frequently pictured as very sympathetic in his treatment of such. As he conceived of it his gospel was a message specially addressed to them (Matt. 11:5; Luke 4:18; 7:22). He had no money to give them, save as it may now and then have been taken from their common purse as a loosely organized band of itinerants; but he encouraged those possessed of means to relieve the needy (Matt. 19:21; Luke 14:13, 21). Though we may admit that the gospels reveal traces of Ebionitic coloring, surely the Third Gospel does, we still must assert that Jesus was profoundly concerned for the poor. It is a significant fact that can never be ignored by students of the life of Jesus that when John sent an embassy of inquiry Jesus welcomed its members and after they had been given sufficient time to get the gist of his message and form an unbiased conception of his ministry he sent them back to John with the suggestion that they tell him that at his hands the blind are made to see, the lame to walk, the deaf to hear, the lepers are cleansed, the dead are raised, and to the poor the gospel is preached (Luke 7:22). So also is it significant that the disciples whom Jesus sent forth were charged to perform substantially the same ministries (Matt. 10:8; cf. Luke 10:9).

Again we should not fail to note as most characteristic of the ministry of Jesus, as it is set forth in the Synoptic Gospels, his endeavor to reach and recover to society those who were looked upon, not without good reasons, as outcasts, the publicans or taxgatherers, the professional prostitutes, and those who belonged to the criminal classes, the sinners, as they were called. He not only believed that the publicans could be redeemed (Luke 19:9, 10; Matt. 21:31, 32); but he also believed that there were reputable men among them (Luke 18:10ff.). He was happy to have publicans and members of other classes outside the pale of the supposedly reputable society of

his day come to him and enjoy his ministry. Nor did he shrink from being known as the friend of such (Matt. 9:10, 11; 11:19). When upon occasion he was charged with keeping company with such outcasts he defended himself by remarking that they, rather than the sound or whole, needed him. Upon another occasion when rebuked by the Pharisees for eating with publicans and sinners he excused himself by uttering that marvelous trinity of parables having to do with the lost (Luke 15:1ff.).

But Jesus was also sympathetic in his treatment of widows (Mark 12:42, 43; Luke 4:26; 7:12); while children found in him one in whom they could most lovingly confide. Modern students of childhood find Jesus' treatment of childhood most sane and inspiring. Not a least hint of the Calvinistic conception of such life as unregenerate and depraved can we find in Jesus' attitude just here. Children are his little ones, a hope, a joy, an inspiration to him always. Most tender and loving is he when among them; and this is saying much for one whose ministry was in the open where children are most likely to be found and where they are bound to interrupt if not to annoy.

In the Fourth Gospel we find not a trace of such humanitarianism as we have found abundant evidences of in the other gospels. Not once is Jesus spoken of as manifesting pity or compassion. He does not inculcate either; nor does he appear as so much as noticing either. The very words are wanting. Even the sick are not mentioned; nor are the maimed or otherwise afflicted, save in a few stories of miracles. And these are given in a way thoroughly characteristic of the gospel. There is no suggestion of compassion on the part of Jesus for the impotent man whom he is said to have healed at the Pool of Bethesda. He appears to have healed him in defiance of the sabbath laws of the Jews as though to arouse their enmity by making them conscious of his power. The blind man was restored because he, Jesus, must work the work of God and because he must reveal his oneness as a worker with God. The fact that the man finally worshiped him is mentioned as though it were the climax of the story (9:38). The nobleman's son was healed as though either to provoke or perchance to reward unusual faith in him (4:46-54). We are told that Jesus manifested his glory by the miracle of Cana (2:11). No intimation

is there that he was personally concerned over the chagrin of him who gave the feast because the old wine was running short. Too much may easily be made of the fact that he is said to have wept at the grave of Lazarus; for he tells his friends he is glad he was not present earlier (11:15). Lazarus' death was conceived of as furnishing him a supreme occasion. Even the story of his feeding the multitude is without a hint of compassion on his part. It is introduced by a mathematical discussion between him and Philip which is calculated to reveal how utterly improbable it would be for the disciples to attempt to feed them by resorting to common methods of supply (6:5ff.). It certainly is noteworthy, for it is thoroughly in keeping with the character of this Fourth Gospel, that in the story of Jesus' walking to his imperiled disciples upon the Sea of Galilee the comforting assurance found in both Matthew and Mark, "Be of good cheer," is wanting. We have only the startling announcement: "It is I; be not afraid," as though knowledge of his presence were enough without the words of sweet assurance.

Thus we see that Jesus' miracles, according to this gospel, find their occasion in him rather than in man's suffering or need. They are signs, works wrought to bear witness of him (5:36; 10:25). We are told that early in his ministry many in Jerusalem believed in his name because of the miracles they witnessed (2:23). But nowhere throughout the gospel is there any mention of the sick or maimed being brought to him as a healer who might be expected to have pity upon them. He appears as too exalted a personage to be touched with pity for the unfortunate, or even to have compassion upon human frailty and sin. Early in his ministry, as here pictured, he is said to have asserted not "Ye hereafter shall see the sick healed, the maimed restored, and the poor gladdened," but "Hereafter ye shall see heaven open, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of Man" (1:51).

In this gospel the publicans and harlots do not appear.¹ There is nothing about the author's conception of Jesus to lead us to suppose that he thought it possible for him to be interested in such outcasts. Even the masses of the common people play but a small part in the

¹ Text-criticism has shown that the section (8:1-11) did not originally belong to the Fourth Gospel.

narrative. Jesus' interest is in the few rather than the many, in his disciples who are supposed to be capable of apprehending his mystical thought rather than in those who seemed incapable. Here the poor are not ministered unto; and to them the gospel is not preached. Only once is he said to have alluded to them and then in the story of the anointing, a story found in early tradition in a simpler form. This is all the more noteworthy because the words seem so foreign to Jesus' treatment of such unfortunates (12:8). Neither as a class nor as individuals do widows come before him as exciting his compassion; and not a solitary child brightens the pages of the narrative. If Jesus is represented as using the term "little children" endearingly in addressing his disciples it may be because in the author's thought their association with the Master has endeared and glorified them rather than because he conceived of the term as a common one to Jesus.

But to say that the Jesus of the Fourth Gospel is not the humanitarian of the Synoptic Gospels is to tell but part of the story.

The Jesus whom we meet in the earlier narratives is one who has a passion to serve and to save. He seeks the needy and the outcast not only because they move him to compassion but also because he feels that it is his mission to serve and to save the lost. He has come not to be ministered unto but to minister, he tells his friends (Matt. 20:28). "I am among you," he declares upon another occasion, "as he that serveth" (Luke 22:27). The very verb "to serve" appears in the Fourth Gospel only in a passage in which Jesus is represented as speaking of being served rather than of serving (12:26). There is, it is true, the story of his washing his disciples' feet, a story which does not elsewhere appear (13:4 ff.). This symbolic act is said to have been performed as an example. It may be considered as revealing supreme condescension; but as an example it was unhappy, for no self-respecting man would allow anyone but a paid menial to perform such services.

We must not fail to notice that the Jesus who appears in the Fourth Gospel as wanting in compassion for the unfortunate and pity for the sin-laden is one who is supremely interested in his own person. His is a self-centered instead of a world-centered life. What he is and how men regard and treat him are of supreme moment. The personal

pronouns appear most frequently and most prominently. It is: "I came down from heaven;" "I came forth from the Father;" "Before Abraham was I am;" "I am not of this world;" "I and my Father are one;" "Which of you convinceth me of sin?" "I am the bread of heaven;" "I am the light of the world;" "I am the good shepherd;" "I am the door." True he alludes to himself as coming not to condemn but to save the world (3:17); but here his conception of salvation has changed most radically. According to this gospel eternal life is to be divinely bestowed upon those who believe in him (5:24; 6:27, 40, 47). To do the will of God, or the work of God, one has only to believe on him whom he hath sent. This is a mystical thought far removed from the noble simplicity of the Synoptic Gospels.

It has long seemed to many, and will still seem to them, that the Fourth Gospel supplements most admirably the other gospels, not alone because it gives us the deeper thought of the Master, but also because it completes our picture of his person and his mission. It may be unwise, if not vain, to antagonize this view; but one thing should appear most clearly—that we of today cannot afford to lose the humanitarian side of Jesus' life and ministry as this appears in the earlier gospel tradition. Never have the needs of the world been known as they are now known; and never has compassion been more prized and honored. A passion to serve, and to serve intelligently and efficiently, possesses many hearts. If Christianity plays the part that it ought in the great work of individual recovery and of social redemption it will be largely because Christian workers go to the Synoptic Gospels rather than to the Fourth Gospel, because they see that Jesus was nothing if he was not tender and pitiful and that he cared little what men thought of him if only they could be moved to do the will of God as reputable members of society and as lovers of their fellow-men.

Students of Tennyson's life have not failed to notice the happy change which came over him during the first two decades of his poetic career, a change in the direction of greater simplicity of style and of deeper interest in human life. Nowhere is this growing interest in life more marked than in his sea poems. The earlier, *The Kraken*, *The Merman*, *The Mermaid*, *The Sea-Fairies*, and *The Lotus Eaters* are poems of pure imagination. Man as man finds in them no place.

But in his later poems having to do with the sea the interest is in real life. Such poems as *Enoch Arden*, *Sea Dreams*, and *The Sailor Boy* pulsate with interest in human life. Its sufferings, its struggles, and its aspirations are of supreme concern to the poet. In Jesus' career as a teacher and helper of his fellows there seems to have been no such transition. From first to last he was supremely interested in man and most tenderly compassionate, as generally he seems to have been radiantly optimistic. No greater calamity could befall the Christian world than to lose sight of this fact as it would do were it to neglect the Jesus of the Synoptic Gospels for the mystical, self-centered Jesus of the Fourth Gospel.



GEORGE ADAM SMITH
Principal of the University of Aberdeen

Work and Workers

THE good wishes of a host of Americans will accompany Professor George Adam Smith to his new position as Principal of The University at Aberdeen, Scotland. This position is filled by royal appointment. The special significance of the present appointment lies in the fact that no minister of the Free Church has ever before been called to the principalship of either of the four universities in Scotland, such positions heretofore having been held by members of the Established Church (Presbyterian). During the present academic year Dr. Smith will continue his Old Testament teaching in the Free Church College, Glasgow, concurrently with the administration of the University at Aberdeen, one hundred and thirteen miles away. While the principal's duties will leave no time for teaching, it is to be hoped that Dr. Smith's valuable Old Testament scholarship will not be wholly laid aside from active service. This we should seriously deprecate, scarcely regarding the honor of the principalship, great as it is, as sufficient compensation for the cessation of that rich series of volumes illuminating the Old Testament, which all interpreters now regard as indispensable.

REV. ROBERT LAW, M.A., minister of Lauriston Place United Free Church, Edinburgh, has succeeded Professor H. A. A. Kennedy, in the chair of New Testament at Knox College, Toronto. Professor Kennedy, it will be remembered, has returned to Edinburgh, to the professorship left vacant by the death of Marcus Dods. Professor Law is already known in America through his recent book, *The Tests of Life*, a study of the First Epistle of John.

FREDERIC GEORGE KENYON has been appointed principal librarian of the British Museum, to succeed Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, retired. Mr. Kenyon is perhaps best known for his work on Greek papyri, for he has edited many important literary texts, and his *Palaeography of Greek Papyri* was the first systematic treatise on the subject. He is better known to biblical students as the author of *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts* (1895), and his excellent *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (1901).

REV. BENJAMIN S. WINCHESTER, D.D., pastor of the Congregational Church of Winnetka, Ill., has been elected to the office of educational

secretary of the Congregational Sunday School and Publishing Society, and will take up his new work in Boston on January 1. Dr. Winchester is a graduate of Williams College and Chicago Theological Seminary. From the latter institution he was appointed fellow and studied for two years at the University of Halle. Then for a time he was professor at Whitman College in the state of Washington, but later returned to the ministry in Chicago and vicinity. During his pastorate at Winnetka he transformed the Congregational Sunday school into a thoroughly graded school, working out original ideas and methods. The skill, experience, and success of this achievement led to his selection for the leadership of the Sunday schools of the entire denomination. The choice is an excellent one, and guarantees that the Congregational Sunday schools will continue to have wise, progressive, and efficient guidance. It is the purpose of the society to promote the newer ideals and methods of Sunday-school work and to publish graded courses of study along the newer lines as rapidly as they can be prepared. The Congregational denomination, through Dr. A. E. Dunning and others, has been foremost in the movement for Sunday-school progress, and the appointment of Dr. Winchester to the educational secretaryship gives assurance that this advance position is to be maintained.

THE next (seventh) General Convention of the Religious Education Association is to be held in Nashville, Tenn., on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, March 8, 9, and 10, 1910. The main sessions will be held in the Ryman Auditorium, seating six thousand. A strong local committee is making elaborate preparations for the convention, which promises to be large and important. This will be the first of the annual meetings to be held in the South, and a special interest attaches to its welcome there. Chancellor Kirkland, of Vanderbilt University, Nashville, is the chairman of the local committee. (Requests for reservations may be sent to Rev. Jesse L. Cuninggim, Nashville, Tenn.) Other important southern conventions, ministerial and educational, are to be merged into this convention of the Religious Education Association, making it one of the great events for church and school in the United States during the coming year.

The general theme of the meeting will be "The Church and Education." The three evening sessions will have the specific topics: (1) "The Church Educating Itself," upon which addresses will be given by Professor George A. Coe, Ph.D., formerly of Northwestern University, now of the Union Theological Seminary, New York City, who is president of the R. E. A. for the present year; and by President W. H. P. Faunce, D.D., of Brown University; President W. D. Mackenzie, D.D., of Hartford Theo-

logical Seminary; and Professor H. L. Willett, D.D., of the University of Chicago. (2) "The Church Inspiring the Local Educational Forces," upon which addresses will be given by Bishop Hendrix, of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, President Swain of Swarthmore College, and others. (3) "The Church Christianizing National and International Ideals," upon which addresses will be given by President Moffatt, Dean Tillett, and others. At the general session on Thursday morning the Annual Survey of Progress in Moral and Religious Education will be given by Chancellor Kirkland, with the specific subject: "Problems and Progress of Religious Education in the South." He will be followed by Professor Bruce R. Payne, of the University of Virginia, who will present: "The Next Step Forward."

The departmental programmes will be many, varied, and valuable as always. The Council will discuss "The Educational Qualifications of Ministers and Church Workers," with sessions on Tuesday morning and afternoon, Wednesday morning, and Thursday afternoon.

THE Ann Arbor School of Religion announces forty-one courses of biblical and religious study, offered by twenty-two instructors, most of them members of the University of Michigan faculties. The organization is made up of representatives of nine denominations and of the Students' Christian Association. The courses deal with the Old and New Testaments, history of religion, practical Christianity, and missions.

THE GRADED SUNDAY SCHOOL

THE question of material for the graded Sunday school has become the vital issue with all of the great denominational publishing houses. No one doubts that the newer educational ideals are fast taking hold of those who are engaged in Sunday-school teaching. It will soon be no longer a question whether graded lessons should be used, but which of the various series of graded lessons published, or which volumes from a series, will bring the best results. The pamphlets issued simultaneously by several of the large denominational houses containing lessons prepared upon the basis of the selections made by the International Lesson Committee, show marked advance over the old uniform-lesson system. The lessons will no doubt call forth considerable criticism from pedagogical and biblical experts, but no one will deny that the step taken is in the right direction, and that the future will bring improvements in methods and material.

There has been great hesitancy on the part of the publication societies in the matter of the production of these lessons, because of the feeling that

the Sunday-school world was not ready for this advance step and that there would be a large investment of funds with no adequate returns. This attitude, however, has its best answer in the fact that private publishing houses are considering it worth while to publish graded textbooks.

The latest announcements of the Bible-Study Publishing Company of Boston, which has for some years published the Bible-Study Union Lessons, present a scheme for a fully graded course of lessons covering some very interesting topics. The general characteristics of the new series are described as follows: (1) A close and careful adaptation of the lesson material and methods of study to the varying capacities of childhood, boyhood and girlhood, adolescence, and adult age, so as best to meet the religious and moral needs, and develop the possibilities, of each successive period; (2) a study of the Bible by the aid of methods that have proved most effective in awakening and holding the interest of young people; (3) a supplementing of the Bible by such other material from nature-study, Christian history, literature, biography, missions, etc., as will best promote religious and moral development; (4) a practical application of the teachings of the Bible to the needs and conditions of modern life, with the aim of cultivating social as well as individual morality; (5) a constant endeavor to inspire and direct the pupils in giving personal and practical expression to moral and religious truth.

The announcements indicate that one volume for each grade will be ready within the present school year. We are glad to see that one of the courses definitely announced attempts to cover the field of missions under the title, "The Conquering Christ," and that another course deals with "Heroes of the Faith," many of whom are extra-biblical.

This series is as yet the only one which promises results comparable with those secured by the graded textbooks published by the University of Chicago Press. It is to be hoped that the publication of textbooks such as these two series present, will continue to raise the standard, so that the market need not be flooded with inferior material. The graded system will be no better than any other unless the actual material put into the hands of teachers and pupils is of a high class. We welcome this new graded series of the Bible-Study Union and hope for the most hearty and cordial co-operation and mutual helpfulness on the part of all who are interested in the publication of lessons for the graded Sunday school.

Book Reviews

The Historic Exodus. By OLAF A. TOFFTEEN, PH.D. Researches in Biblical Archaeology, Vol. II. Published for the Oriental Society of the Western Theological Seminary. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1909. Pp. xxii + 339. \$2.50.

The title of this book is a misnomer, for Toffteen contends that there were two Exodi. This, however, is a small matter, and might be overlooked. But the very first sentence of chap. i is a misstatement of fact, viz., "To Professor Wellhausen belongs the distinction of having pointed out that the Hexateuch is made up of *four great documents*, etc." Any beginner in the study of Old Testament criticism should know that Wellhausen was not the originator of this hypothesis. But the misstatement does not stop here, for on p. 12, in summing up the critical position, the author continues, "The Hexateuch consists of four great documents, and four only, which documents are to be found *complete*, if only scholarship is keen enough to detect traces of them, and to assign them to their respective places. The use of the word 'document' presupposes that we deal here with a complete document, and not with mere fragments." No critic holds, nor has one ever held, the view alleged in the first sentence; and in the second sentence a meaning is attached to the word "document" which it has never had in criticism. These two misstatements are constantly referred to in the volume as the views of biblical scholars of the critical school. Surely in criticizing a hypothesis one should correctly represent that hypothesis. Further examples would show that the author has a very imperfect idea of the teachings of modern critical scholarship, in spite of his statement on p. xi of the Preface, "I claim to be thoroughly cognizant of the views of all the more prominent writers bearing upon this work."

Professor Toffteen lays himself open to still more serious criticism by the use he makes of the material of other scholars without giving them proper credit. It is true that he says in the Preface, p. xiv, "In chaps. ii and iii the reader will find that my views often coincide with those of Eerdmans, etc."; but when one turns to these chapters the name of Eerdmans is not mentioned once, although many of his statements are found repeated almost verbatim. For example, in Eerdmans' *Die Komposition der Genesis*, p. 9, we read, "Among all the nations, which the earlier and later strata in Gen. 10 enumerate for us, it is noteworthy that the Persians are missing.

It seems impossible that a writer of the exilic or post-exilic age would pass by a people which for the Israel of that time was the most significant." Compare this with p. 17 of our book, "It seems quite impossible that a man in the time of Ezra (444 B. C.), or more especially Ezra himself, if he were the author of the P document, could have written a table of nations, particularly one of the Aryan nations, without mentioning the Persians, who were in his day rulers of Asia." Again on the same page in Eerdmans' pamphlet we read "The Jews residing in Babylonia knew very well at that time that the Elamites did not belong to the Semites." On p. 18 of Toffteen's book we read, "But in the time of Ezra every Jew living in Babylonia knew that the Elamites were not related to the Semites, either ethnically, geographically, or politically." Other examples occur on Eerdmans p. 30, Toffteen p. 20; Eerdmans p. 5, Toffteen p. 22; Eerdmans p. 8, Toffteen p. 24. The discussion of the ten Toledoth, pp. 50 f., is also based upon Eerdmans' work. When one bears in mind that on these two chapters, ii and iii, depends the main premise of Toffteen's whole argument, viz., that the P document is not post-exilic, the situation becomes still more grave.

The author frequently refers contemptuously to the "assumptions" of the critics and in one place, p. 177, to the "wild-cat theories of the radical critics." Where could one find more assumptions, pure and simple, or more wild theories compressed into a single volume than are contained in this book? But here again it is necessary to be specific, even to go into detail; for our contention is that in this book the author has shown himself neither scholarly nor scientific. Let us investigate his philology first of all. On p. 24, note 3, we have a discussion of the word *El-Shaddai*. "The same god was introduced into the Egyptian pantheon under the name of Set or Sed, which should probably be pronounced Saddai. The center of this worship was at Tanis and Avaris, and the god's totem was the ass, which connects him with the worship of Hadad of the *Amurru* or Amorite people of Syria, the Amorite name itself being the older Canaanite name of *Chamor* or 'he-ass.'" For the first statement there is not a scrap of historical nor philological evidence. The second statement is so vague that one must hesitate to criticize it. What connection can there be between Set or Sed=Saddai=El-Shaddai and Hadad of *Amurru* which name=*Chamor*?

On p. 43 we are informed that the Canaanite tongue mentioned in Isa. 19:18 was Galilean Aramaic. This is certainly new. Where is the evidence? Compare this statement with one on p. 60, "Again, we know of a Galilean dialect at the time of Christ. This dialect existed, in all probability, from very early times." How early? Surely Toffteen does

not mean to tell us that when the rest of the Israelites in Palestine were speaking *Hebrew* the Galileans were speaking Galilean *Aramaic*. Yet when he speaks of the Song of Deborah as written in this dialect it would seem so. Still he insists that the peculiarities of style "should be explained as peculiarities of the Galilean dialect rather than 'Aramaisms.'" Just what does he mean? On p. 59 he discusses the Hebrew dialects. We learn that in the dialect of Benjamin *bosheth* corresponds to *baal* of the Jerusalem dialect. So *mephi* corresponds to *meri*. This thought is developed until, p. 138, we have P written in the dialect of Levi, E and D in the dialect of Ephraim, and J in the dialect of Judah. Where is the evidence for all this? We are told that when *synonyms* are used they indicate difference in dialect. A regularly says "go in," B "enter," ergo A and B speak different dialects! While discussing dialects we may see what arguments are based on this new philology. On p. 60 it is stated that "the peculiarities of vocabulary and style of a document may be ascribed to the peculiar dialect of the tribe which owned it. And if this is the case *we have in the language of the documents no criterion whatever of the comparative ages of those documents.*" The weight of this argument is, unfortunately, not increased by a statement made *nine* lines farther on, "The language of the Toledoth Book is closely related to that of the P document proper, and is therefore also to be assigned to the tribe of Levi. Its minor differences from the rest of P indicate only a *different age in the development of the dialect.* In this case we must assume that it is the older of the two." In this connection the statement made on p. 57 is interesting: "It is assumed by many critics that P is a product of the age of Ezra, even though parts of it may go back to as early as the age of Ezekiel. But if P had been written at that time it *would surely represent the language of Ezra's age.*" But let us return to etymologies and identifications. The Egyptian "Tharu" is the exact Hebrew equivalent of "Shur," and "Khetem"=Etham (p. 158), and the word Sekmem is explained thus: The Greek versions, we are told, in rendering the word which in Hebrew appears as Shechem, offer two readings "so different as to presuppose different originals. One of these is Sychem; the other is Sikima (*a neuter plural*). The Hebrew equivalent of the former is *Shechem*; of the latter, *Shikmim*" (p. 240). The uninitiated should be told that the ending "im" of the last word is the Hebrew plural ending, corresponding to the Greek plural. But the choicest specimens have been reserved for the end of the book. One of the Amarna-letters is discussed on p. 264. A city Tu-mur (-ka) is mentioned. Toffteen does call attention to the fact that Knudtzon, who has given us the last and critical edition of these letters, reads "from

the mountain." But Toffteen prefers the older reading of Winckler and Scheil—for obvious reasons. "Now *tumur* is the Arabic (!) plural of *tamar* meaning 'palm-tree,' and corresponds to the Hebrew plural *temarim*, meaning 'palm-trees,' which at this time was the name of Jericho, Ehud's home." It is difficult to see how an *Arabic* plural of "palm-tree" could be in use in the time of Ehud, according to Toffteen's chronology B.C. 1465–1385 (p. 315), at least a *thousand* years before the Arabs could possibly have pushed into Canaan, and almost *two thousand* years before Arabic actually became the language of this country. On p. 269 we learn that "another part of the biblical history of this time receives confirmation and elucidation from these newly discovered monuments." The reference is to the discoveries of Winckler at Boghaz-köi. In Judg. 3:7–11 Cushan-Rishathaim, king of Mesopotamia, is mentioned. Who was this king? From the new inscriptions found by Winckler, we learn of a "branch of the kingly line, headed by Artatama." Now "the Greek, which, as we have now often said, is usually more accurate than our mutilated Hebrew," renders Cushan-Rishathaim, as Cus-Arsathaim. "The latter half of this name is an exact equivalent of the name Artatama." For "when Hebrew *sh* is a palatal sibilant it is invariably rendered in Aramaic with a *t*." "Now in the inscriptions found at Boghaz-köi, there is mentioned a city in Mitani called Ku-us-sar, which seems the same as the first half of the biblical name, i. e., Cus(ar)." The new philology evidently allows the dropping of such an insignificant letter as *r* at will. "The name of this king, then, long so mysterious, means simply Artatama of Ku-us-(sar)." There is no doubt that this 'Cushan-Rishathaim' was Artatama, the Midianite king who ruled over the Horites of southern Palestine." Das mag glauben wer kann.

The whole method of the book is totally unreliable. After attempting to prove, mostly by Eerdmans' arguments, that the "higher critical" dates assigned to the documents of the Hexateuch are false, the author begins his own reconstruction of the history by asserting that there were two Exodi from Egypt, some hundreds of years apart. The proof presented consists largely of the linguistic arguments we have already discussed. As to the treatment of historical data it is safe to say that there is no scholar of any standing in the scientific world who could possibly agree with the distorted and positively misleading interpretation of the Egyptian and Babylonian monuments which is here presented. The theory of two *Exodi* makes necessary two leaders named Moses, two or more Aarons, two Joshuas. The evidence for the duplicate leaders is admittedly slight, being based upon variant spellings of their names in the Greek version. But the author

should surely have known that on that basis there would be two or more Davids, Solomons—in fact, two or more of every man whose name occurs at all frequently in the Old Testament. The geography, especially the physical geography of the Exodi, as presented by this book is new (p. 162 f.), but the height of the ridiculous is reached on p. 176, where we learn that “The Wilderness of Sin and the wilderness of Sinai are the *oases* of the Arabah, between the Seir-ranges, etc.”

The Documentary Hypothesis, we are told, p. 13, points out the discrepancies, difficulties, and inconsistencies of the Old Testament records, “but it does not *remove*” them. Devout persons therefore “are slow to accept the results of modern criticism.” Having accepted the author’s hypothesis, “the ‘contradictions’ quietly disappear,” and we learn that we are dealing “with varying historical verities” (p. 281). The force of this argument is lost when on p. 279 we read, “We venture, therefore, to believe that the Hexateuchal stories of the Exodus are reliable even to the most minute details, *except where the later compiler of the documents has misunderstood and changed his material, and where the copyists of later ages have miscopied the text or annotated it with their own explanations.*” There is no immediate danger that the hypothesis here presented will necessitate “a total reconstruction of the Evolutionary Hypothesis of modern higher criticism” (p. xii).

D. D. LUCKENBILL

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Background of the Gospels, or Judaism in the period between the Old and New Testaments. By WILLIAM FAIRWEATHER, M.A. Edinburgh: Clark, 1908; imported by Scribner. Pp. 456. \$3.00.

The period covered in this book embraces the two hundred and thirty-five years from the Maccabean uprising to the destruction of Jerusalem under Titus. A brief survey of the literary sources of the period is followed by a consideration of the fundamental characteristics of Judaism, which are held to be legalism, religious fellowship, individualism, conservatism, and syncretism. Under the last-named topic is discussed the vexed question of the influence exerted upon Judaism by the religions of Egypt, Babylonia, Persia, and Greece. The influence of Egypt in this respect is regarded as unimportant. The influence of Babylonia, though greater than that of Egypt, was also, in the opinion of the author, of minor significance, not affecting the fundamentals of Judaistic monotheism, but confined rather “to secondary matters as ceremonialism, the visionary method as adopted

by Ezekiel, and the popular beliefs current at the time with respect to spirits, demons, etc." The Persian (Iranian-Zarathustrian) influence he reckons as considerable, though he hesitates to affirm its exact source. He inclines to the opinion of Bousset that "perhaps an Iranian religion mixed with Babylonian elements eventually influenced Judaism." Greek influence was slight in the realm of religious thought, but strong in the commercial, social, and political life of the Jews, as well as in their language and literature.

In the discussion of pre-Maccabaeon Judaism particular attention is devoted to the restoration of the cultus and the increased importance of the priests, also to the rise of the scribes and the characteristics of the Wisdom literature. The significant facts of the post-Maccabaeon period were the rise of the Pharisaic and Sadducean parties, the downfall of the Hasmonaeon, and the rise of the Herodian dynasties. In the treatment of the apocalyptic movement and literature, each book is considered separately; then the special characteristics of the literature as a whole are given, followed by a consideration of the several theories as to its origin. On this last point the author holds to the view of Bousset "that the apocalyptic writings are essentially lay literature, books emanating from the comparatively uneducated section of the people, and reflecting in some important respects the influence of oriental, and especially Persian, religion." The main theological conceptions reflected in the apocalyptic literature are set forth at considerable length. This portion of the book will prove most interesting to students of the New Testament. It was in the apocalyptic period that there arose in the minds of the Jews the sharp distinction between "this world" and the "world to come." It was this period also that witnessed a radical change in the conception of the Messiah. A Davidic king did not correspond with the needs of the times, which demanded a supernatural being, who could conquer the devil, and usher in "the age to come." The conception of God became transcendental, and paved the way for the elaborate doctrine of intermediary beings.

Fairweather does not hesitate, as do some, to affirm that "the doctrine of personal immortality was unknown to the older Hebraism." Its rise along with the doctrine of the resurrection of the individual, is to be referred to the period under consideration. He does not go at length into the question as to how far Jesus himself may have been influenced by apocalyptic. He cites the views of Baldensperger, Johannes Weiss, Wellhausen, and others, and for himself takes middle ground. It is noteworthy that he makes no mention of the work of Wrede and Schweitzer, Sanday and some others in this field.

That this book was prepared in lecture form accounts probably for the absence of more penetrating investigation at important points. It may account in part, though perhaps not altogether, for the conservative attitude of the author, notably in his handling of the sayings of Jesus, which are, as a rule, taken at their face value in deciding points on which New Testament scholars are at variance. On the other hand, the book meets admirably the end for which it seems to have been written, namely, to put in convenient form a large mass of historical, literary, and theological facts pertaining to a neglected but highly important period. Its value as a book of reference has been enhanced, not only by an elaborate analytical table of contents, but also by appendices containing copious notes, a bibliography, a general index, and an index to passages of the Bible, Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Josephus, Philo, and Talmudic literature.

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New Literature

The most important books listed in these columns will receive notice in the book-review pages.

OLD TESTAMENT

BOOKS

DRIVER S. R. Additions and Corrections in the Seventh Edition of the Book of Genesis. London: Methuen & Co., 1909. Pp. 34. 1s.

This list is incorporated in the seventh edition of Dr. Driver's valuable commentary, but is published separately also for the benefit of those who have the earlier editions and do not wish to buy another one. The changes have to do with chronology and archaeology for the most part. They are of the greatest significance and the facts upon which they are based should be in the possession of all students of Genesis.

CLARKE, W. N. Sixty Years with the Bible. A Record of Experience. New York: Scribners, 1909. Pp. 259. \$1.25.

Dr. Clarke here gives us the story of the changes in his own attitude toward the Bible. The narrative is full of interest and charm, forcing the reader to follow it to the end. To those who fear lest the adoption of the historical point of view should rob the Bible of its highest value, this recital of the personal experience of a devout and scholarly man whose Bible has been enriched as a result of modern methods and principles should bring assurance and furnish guidance. The story ought to find wide reading, for its subject is of first-class significance and the method of presentation is worthy of the theme.

MITCHELL, H. G. Genesis. [The Bible for Home and School, ed. by Shailer Mathews.] New York: Macmillan, 1909. Pp. 379. \$0.90.

This is a distinctly popular commentary. The introduction is concise and clear, confining itself to a simple statement of the conclusions of modern scholarship. The notes are just such as the layman needs, illuminating and helpful. The text is that of the Revised Version and its various component sources are indicated by letters on the margin. Furthermore, the more important variations of the ancient versions are given below the text in English translation. With this book in hand, any man can find out for himself the meaning and character of the Book of Genesis.

EISELEN, F. C. Prophecy and the Prophets in Their Historical Relations. New York: Eaton & Mains, 1909. Pp. 331. \$1.50.

After two introductory chapters dealing with the nature of the Old Testament in general and of prophecy in particular, the prophets beginning with Amos are taken up in chronological order and studied in the light of contemporary history. A cautious attitude is maintained toward the results of the historical method, but its legitimacy is recognized. As an introduction to the study of prophecy the book will be useful to students approaching the subject for the first time.

KAUTZSCH, E. Die heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments, übersetzt und herausgegeben. Dritte, völlig neu gearbeitete Auflage. Lieferungen 13-15. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1909. Pp. 769-952. M. 2.40.

This part closes the first volume of this new edition and carries the student through Ezekiel. This prophet, like Jeremiah, is translated and interpreted by Rothstein. A work like this, incorporating the latest conclusions of scholarship and yet well within the range of the intelligent public, is a great desideratum in English.

THOMSEN, P. Palästina und seine Kultur in fünf Jahrtausenden, nach den neuesten Ausgrabungen und Forschungen dargestellt. Mit 36 Abbildungen. [Aus Natur und Geisteswelt.] Leipzig: Teubner, 1909. Pp. 108. M. 1.25.

An excellent handbook for the German laity. Its first chapter narrates briefly the history of excavation and exploration in Palestine; the second discusses the means whereby the chronology of the archaeological remains may be determined, while the remaining seven chapters take up the successive periods of the history of Palestine from the pre-historic age down to the close of the Byzantine period. A list of the more important literature upon the subject completes the presentation.

ARTICLES

SAYCE, A. H. "The Influence of the Sudan upon Jewish History," *The Review and Expositor*, October, 1909.

A sketch of the political relations between Judah and Ethiopia during the eighth and seventh centuries B. C.

VAN HOONACKER, A. L'Ebed Yahwé et la composition littéraire de chaps. xl ss. d'Isaïe. *Revue biblique internationale*, October, 1909.

A keen critique of the interpretations of the Servant of Jehovah passages recently offered by Sellin, Staerk, and Condamin, supplemented by a new poetical arrangement and translation of the materials.

NEW TESTAMENT

BOOKS

FREIHERR VON SODEN, HANS. Das Lateinische Neue Testament in Afrika zur Zeit Cyprians. Nach Bibelhandschriften und Väterzeugnissen. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909. (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, xxxiii.) Pp. x+663. M.21.

Comparison of the Old Latin manuscripts Bobbiensis, Palatinus, and Claromontanus with the text reflected in Cyprian's writings leads von Soden upon the basis of these four witnesses to reconstruct the African Old Latin New Testament, as he believes it existed in Cyprian's day.

BACHMANN, PHILIPP. Der Zweite Brief des Paulus an die Korinther. (Kommentar zum Neuen Testament, herausgegeben von Theodor Zahn: Band VIII.) Leipzig: Deichert, 1909. Pp. viii+425.

Bachmann's commentary on II Corinthians is an important contribution from the conservative side, to New Testament interpretation. He holds to the unity of the epistle as we have it. It was written from Macedonia in the late summer of A. D. 57, and sent by the hand of Titus.

PICK, BERNHARD. The Apocryphal Acts of Paul, Peter, John, Andrew, and Thomas. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1909. Pp. xiv+376.

Dr. Pick's English translations of these earliest apocryphal Acts are prefaced by full bibliographies, mostly German, and brief introductions. Of the Acts of Paul he translates three chapters; those of Peter are translated from the Vercelli Latin, with the addition of one episode from the Coptic. The work will give English readers an interesting glimpse of popular Christianity in the late second and early third centuries.

MASTERMAN, E. W. G. Studies in Galilee. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1909. Pp. xv+154. \$1 net.

Long residence in Palestine has fitted Dr. Masterman to produce a thoroughly original first-hand study of the historic district of Galilee. Readers of Dr. Masterman's articles on Galilee in the *Biblical World* will be glad to find them combined with additional material, in this attractive book.

RELATED SUBJECTS

BOOKS

PATON, L. B. Recent Christian Progress. Studies in Christian Thought and Work during the Last Seventy-five Years by Professors and Alumni of Hartford Theological Seminary, in Celebration of Its Seventy-fifth Anniversary, May 24-26, 1909. New York: Macmillan, 1909. Pp. xiv+597. \$3.

These are in large part critical sketches of the more important literature dealing with the various phases of Christian thought published during the period in question. The first one hundred and thirty-seven pages are devoted to Old and New Testament literature. The remaining fields covered are Systematic Theology, Church History, The Modern Churches, Church Work, Allied Agencies, Home Missions, Foreign Missions.

JORDAN, L. H., AND LABANCA, B. The Study of Religion in the Italian Universities. London: Oxford University Press, 1909. Pp. xxviii+324. 6s.

This is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the religious situation in Italy at the present time, tracing as it does the progress of the study of religion in Italy up to our own age. The history of this discipline is of course indissolubly entwined with that of the religious attitude in general and the progress of the church in particular. This is especially true of Italy where the movement toward modernism has rooted itself so deeply and where the university men have played so large a part in shaping the religious thought of today.

JORDAN, L. H. Modernism in Italy. Its Origin, Its Incentive, Its Leaders, and Its Aims. London: Oxford University Press, 1909. Pp. 48. 2s.

This is a very timely publication. Dr. Jordan's extended residence in Italy, together with his studies of the religious history of modern Italy as represented in the foregoing book, have qualified him to speak authoritatively upon this question.

ARPEE, L. The Armenian Awakening. A History of the Armenian Church, 1820-1860. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1909. Pp. xi+228. \$1.25.

A valuable study of an important period of Armenian History. To students of Turkish politics and of Christian missions alike this book should be of great interest and value.

BRIGGS, C. A. Church Unity: Studies of Its Most Important Problems. New York; Scribners, 1909. Pp. 451. \$1.50.

Dr. Briggs has here assembled several articles contributed to various magazines during the last quarter of a century. These constitute about one-half of this volume. As the embodiment of the conclusions of one who has long been a leading exponent and careful student of the problems of Christian Irenics, this volume will find a hearty welcome, even where dissent from its positions will prevail.

GORDON, GEO. A. Religion and Miracles. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1909. Pp. ix+244. \$1.30.

This book has grown out of a series of lectures delivered at Yale. Its author seeks to establish the contention that Christianity is not dependent upon miracle, that all its essential verities are independent of miracle; hence the true Christian need not be disturbed by doubts as to the genuineness of the miraculous element in the life of Christ.

GLADDEN, WASHINGTON. Recollections. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Pp. 445. \$2.

The Columbus pastor has had no unimportant part in the events of the last fifty years, which he records in delightful style in this book of memoirs. One sees through his eyes the Civil War, the days of reconstruction, the civil-service reform, municipal improvement, the industrial revolution, the negro problem, and the personal interpre-

tation gives a new light to the history. Biblical students will appreciate the recollections of the beginning of larger views of the Bible in America. Such a retrospect helps one to realize the genuine advance that has been made.

WALKER, W. L. *The Gospel of Reconciliation, or At-one-ment.* New York: Scribners, 1909. Pp. 245. \$2.00.

BURTON, M. LEROY. *The Problem of Evil. A Criticism of the Augustinian Point of View.* Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1909. Pp. 234.

CARUS P. *The Pleroma. An essay on the Origin of Christianity.* Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1909. Pp. 163. \$1.00.

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